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GEORGE ADAM SMITH

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NUMBER I

THE REV. GEORGE ADAM SMITH, D.D., PROFESSOR
OF HEBREW IN THE FREE CHURCH COLLEGE,
GLASGOW, SCOTLAND.

By PROFESSOR ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCE,
Free Church College, Glasgow.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH was born in India in the year 1856. He came to Scotland in early boyhood and received his education in the Royal High School, Edinburgh, and afterwards in the university of the same city, where he graduated in 1875. He took his theological curriculum in the New College, Edinburgh, passing the exit examination with distinction in 1879. During the period of four years covered by the theological course, through which all Free Church students have to pass, Mr. Smith twice visited German universities, taking a summer semester in Tübingen in 1876 and a second in Leipsic in 1878. After finishing his theological course he visited the East, spending six months, from December, 1879, till May, 1880, in Egypt and the Holy Land. On returning to Scotland he was appointed to act as Hebrew tutor in the Free Church College, Aberdeen, the duties of which office he performed for two successive sessions 1880-1, 1881-2. This appointment fell to his lot in connection with the unhappy trial of Professor Robertson Smith for the promulgation of critical views on the Old Testa-

ment, which at the time appeared to many as "dangerous and unsettling." An incident of the trial was the suspension of the incriminated Professor from his teaching functions, making the appointment of a substitute necessary.

This temporary position led to something more permanent in the "granite city." At the time that Mr. Smith was discharging his duties as Hebrew tutor in the college a movement was on foot to form a new congregation in the west end of Aberdeen, not far from where the college buildings stand. The people who were interested in this movement got their eye on him, having discovered that he could preach as well as teach. The result was that in 1882 he became the pastor of Queen's Cross Church. This position he occupied for ten years, that is, till his appointment to the chair of Hebrew in the Free Church College, Glasgow, in 1892.

During these ten years of his pastoral life Mr. Smith was not only successful in building up a strong, influential congregation, but became famous as a preacher. He came to be regarded as one of the foremost, if not the very foremost, man among the younger ministry of his church. Hence it was that the congregation of Free St. George's, Edinburgh, by a long way the first in the denomination, on the outlook for a colleague to their able minister, Dr. Whyte, pitched upon him as the man of all the men they could think of likely to occupy that prominent post with advantage to them and to the city at large. Had they been unanimous they would probably have succeeded in getting him. None doubted his powers or his eloquence, but some doubted his orthodoxy. "Was he not tainted with those dreadful critical views for which Professor Robertson Smith had suffered deprivation of office?" And so, a minority somewhat obstinately opposing, Mr. Smith preferred to remain where he was, ministering to a united and attached people. Many have been and are of opinion that in this way he lost the opportunity of serving his church and his generation in the way most suitable to his gifts. And beyond doubt, while possessing ample learning and proved teaching capacity, he is before all things by gifts and temperament a preacher.

As some one facetiously remarked, while he doubtless is a first-class professor he is a *double first* preacher. Many qualities combine to make him a rare pulpit power; poetic feeling, imagination, passion, a good presence, a fine voice, graceful utterance, and withal something to say on any theme he discourses on worth listening to. He has, however, crossed the Rubicon. He will be a professor for the rest of his life, and it is confidently expected that he will have a distinguished career in this new line. Even after his appointment to the chair the St. George's people thought it not impossible that they might be able to lure him away from Hebrew roots to Christian homiletics, but they have at last given up hope and called another man, who it is believed will serve them very well, if not as well.

Mr. Smith—Dr. Smith I must call him now (he got his degree from Edinburgh within a twelvemonth of his appointment to the chair)—has made his mark in authorship as decidedly as in preaching. He gave to the world his first important publication in the year 1888, while still the minister of King's Cross. It was the first volume of his well known and highly valued work on the Prophet *Isaiah*, the second of which appeared in 1890. That work may be said to be a pioneer sample of a kind of literature very much wanted at present—popular readable exposition of Scripture based on modern scientific Biblical criticism. Its success as a publication was partly due to the fact that it met a generally felt want. But it was due also, and even chiefly, to the fact of its being a splendid specimen of the kind of literature in demand. It is criticism and high-class homiletics combined; the former competent, the latter brilliant. The book is from beginning to end readable, both for scholars, and for common men, as its contents had been hearable by all classes when preached. For preached it was, another specimen of the superior style of pulpit work which the best class of Scottish ministers do for the instruction and entertainment of their audiences. Of men who can turn out work of such high quality there are never many in any church, but there are always some to keep up the prophetic succession and feed

the reflective minds of many devout people who like to read something more solid and improving than novels. There are churches in Scotland in reference to which the passer-by will now and then remark to a companion: That is the church in which such and such a book was first preached. Long may it continue to be so.

The work by which Professor Smith would perhaps wish to be judged by scholars is his more recently published *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, which appeared in 1894, and was at once welcomed by competent authorities as an important contribution to the subject. It rises, of course, far above the level of ordinary books on the Holy Land, which by their number and their nature might well scare a wise man into a virtuous resolution to let alone a theme so hackneyed. I have never been in Palestine, but so many have been there and have talked and written about it so much that I don't want to go. Even if I did I have small chance. I once said in somewhat bitter jest that any minister might get a trip to the Holy Land on *sick leave*, and that a *saint* might get there without being sick, but that as I was neither sick or saintly I must do without. All the same I recognize that if a man wants to write a book on the geography of a country he had better see it first. Dr. Smith was not content with the visit he made to Palestine in 1879. He visited it a second time in 1891, with a special reference to the geographical study he had then on hand; and one can see in the volume which embodies the results of the study interesting reminiscences of the visit in the shape of extracts from a diary written on the spot.

Dr. Smith's work, as its name imports, is an endeavor to throw light on the history of events, especially military events, in Palestine, by a careful study of its geographical features, the historical incidents recorded in Scripture of course receiving prominent, but by no means exclusive attention. It thus breaks comparatively new ground. Robinson's well known *Researches* has for its main task the identification of places, in which department of enquiry it is of epoch-making importance. Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine* is an admirable attempt to throw light on

Scriptural allusions by careful vivid descriptions of the localities. Kinglake's *Eothen* aims at shutting off Scripture associations, and trying to see the Holy Land, as if it had no particular sanctity, as it might appear to an observing Pagan eye; a characteristic which made its appearance welcome to many who were weary of second-rate productions stuffed with commonplace pious reflections on sacred scenes and incidents. Furrer's "Wanderungen" are a picturesque reproduction of the main features of the country, geographical, physical and social, by one who did Palestine on foot with an eye in his head and a knapsack on his back; in many respects a book unique in interest, by its fine poetic feeling and simple felicity of style. For the purpose of identifying old sites you must still go to Robinson, or to those who have followed in his track. Professor Smith does comparatively little in this line. He appears to have small taste for such enquiries, and to be of opinion that they have already been carried on to an excessive extent, or at least in too confident a spirit. Neither will his work supersede that of Stanley, which, though it may now be behind date in some respects, continues to be a book of real value to all biblical students. The lyric spirit which pervades Furrer's contribution would make it, not, indeed a rival to Dr. Smith's, but certainly, were it translated into English, a welcome addition to ministerial and other libraries. While leaving to such works as these their legitimate sphere Dr. Smith offers something distinctive: not antiquarian investigation into the claims of particular spots to be sites of historic towns, not a running commentary on biblical texts, not photographic pictures of what can be seen from selected view-points—Pisgah views in various directions—not any of these, but a comprehensive idea of Palestine as a whole, with careful description of its separate parts in their organic relation to the whole, and in connection with the historic drama enacted on the soil. His work is scientific in conception, execution, and spirit. Only it is not dry science, but science relieved and popularized by a graphic style and by eloquence stirred by the terror and pathos of Israel's eventful story in a highly sensitive mind. It has been said indeed that the book is too eloquent. If that be so the fault will be pardoned, in the

first place as the defect of the author's qualities, in the next place as making the work readable, but chiefly because on second thoughts the fault is seen to be a virtue. For who could fitly handle the *historical* geography of Palestine that came to his task in a dry-as-dust spirit, devoid of imagination and poetry, prosaically describing its physical features without electric thrills communicated by the heroisms of which it was the theater. The thrills, doubtless, must be kept in their own place, but without them a book on such a theme would be simply dead-born.

It would be out of place in this biographical sketch to offer an elaborate critique of this important volume. In so far as my own impressions are concerned I shall content myself with stating that, while the book interested me throughout, what has left the most vivid recollection in my mind is the part which gives an account of the *Shephelah*,¹ that is, the tract of hill country lying between the great central plateau and the level plain bordering on the Mediterranean, "the debatable ground between Israel and the Philistines, between the Maccabees and the Syrians, between Saladin and the Crusaders." It may interest readers and serve as a guide to the use of the book if I quote here the estimate formed of it by an expert like Dr. Emil Schürer, author of the well-known work on the *Jewish People in the Time of Christ*. In a notice in the *Theologische Literatur Zeitung*, March, 1895, he writes: "Its aim is to show how the history of the land is conditioned by its physical characteristics. . . . Large sections are devoted to a description of these: the conformation of the surface-hills, plains, river-courses, natural highways, climate, products. Then it is shown how these influenced the history. . . . The author devotes special attention to military operations. One might occasionally think it was an officer who wrote, regarding the country from the strategic view-point. . . . The author has a special gift of vivid presentation. He sets the history before the eye like a drama, which he has been enabled to do partly by a twofold visit to the country. The landscape, one feels, is ever present to his view. Thus the book

¹ KONRAD FURRER: *Wanderungen durch das heilige Land*, second and improved edition, with 62 illustrations and 3 maps. Zurich, 1891.

is an extremely valuable aid to the understanding of the history, especially of the Old Testament."

These two works on Isaiah and on the Geography of Palestine give splendid promise for the future. Dr. Smith is still a young man, and much is to be expected from him. The one risk he runs is that which arises from early fame; the danger of being drawn into too many literary undertakings with resulting detriment to quality. Another contribution to the Expositor's Bible—on the Minor Prophets—from his pen, may shortly be looked for. I learn with pleasure that he is to visit America in the course of this year on a lecturing engagement. He is sure to receive an enthusiastic welcome from transatlantic audiences. I trust they will allow him to return to Old Scotland.

ELEGY ON SAUL AND JONATHAN¹

Arranged by PROFESSOR RICHARD G. MOULTON,
The University of Chicago.

Thy glory, O Israel,
Is slain upon thy high places !
 How are the mighty—
 Fallen!

Tell it not in Gath,
Publish it not in the streets of Ashkelon ;
 Lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice,
 Lest the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph.

Ye mountains of Gilboa, let there be no dew
Nor rain upon you, neither fields of offerings :
 For there the shield of the mighty was vilely cast away,
 The shield of Saul, as of one not anointed with oil.

From the blood of the slain,
From the fat of the mighty,
 The bow of Jonathan turned not back,
 And the sword of Saul returned not empty.

Saul and Jonathan were lovely and pleasant in their lives,
And in their death they were not divided.
 They were swifter than eagles,
 They were stronger than lions.

¹The chief elegiac figure here, is the augmenting refrain : a refrain constructed on two ideas, coming together like the musical crescendo and decrescendo : *How are the mighty < > fallen!*

Ye daughters of Israel,
Weep over Saul,
 Who clothed you in scarlet delicately,
 Who put ornaments of gold upon your apparel.

*How are the mighty—
Fallen in the midst of the battle!*
 O Jonathan,
 Slain upon thy high places!

I am distressed for thee, my brother, Jonathan :
Very pleasant hast thou been unto me :
 Thy love to me was wonderful,
 Passing the love of women.

*How are the mighty—
Fallen!*
 *And the weapons of war—
Perished!*

NOTES ON THESSALONICA.

FROM many points of view Thessalonica is a city of peculiar interest to the student of the history of Christianity. It is one of the few cities which received Christianity in the apostolic age and have maintained a continuous existence to the present day. From Thessalonica in the days of the apostle Paul "sounded forth the word of the Lord ; not only in Macedonia and Achaia, but in every place " the faith of the Thessalonians was spoken of. In the ninth century Cyril and Methodius carried the gospel from this city into central Europe, planting Christianity among the Bulgarians and Moravians, and becoming thus indirectly the founders of the remarkable Moravian missions of modern times. Today it is again a field of missionary effort and a center for work among the Bulgarians. The present work was begun by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1894.

The views of the city which accompany this article are by the courtesy of Dr. E. E. Strong, Secretary of the American Board, reproduced from the *Missionary Herald* of September 1895, where they accompany an article by Rev. J. Henry House, D.D. From this article we take also the following paragraphs describing the views :

"The view of the city on the following page will enable the reader to form a good idea of the city as it now is. The picturesque Genoese tower which is seen at the left reminds those who have visited Constantinople of similar towers in that city. The old walls, which are still in very good preservation on three sides of the city, have been pulled down to the seaward and to the southeast of the city, and so are not distinctly seen in the picture. The minaret with a ruined top, near the center, marks the site of the mosque of St. Sophia, which was greatly injured by a great fire that occurred a few years ago. It was formerly a Christian church and was built in the reign of Justinian by the same architect that built St. Sophia in Constantinople. The



GENERAL VIEW OF THESSALONICA

great square building that is seen a little farther to the right, but still near the center, is the fine new government building. The prominent round building, with its minaret, at the left of the picture, is the Rotunda, or St. George's Mosque, as it is also called. This is supposed by some to have been built by Trajan after the pattern of the Pantheon at Rome. It was the old Metropolitan Church in which the Emperor Theodosius the Great was baptized. Turning the eye back again a little to the right, you will see the Mosque of St. Demetrius, who is more revered today in Salonica than Paul himself. The tomb of the martyr, for such he was, is still pointed out to the visitor and is said to be honored even by the Turks, who open the mosque once a year to Christian pilgrims, who flock in great numbers to the shrine of the saint. There is a tradition that this mosque is built near the site of the synagogue where Paul preached.

"The Rotunda is a building of much historical interest. Its walls are twenty or twenty-two feet thick. It contains some very curious mosaics of waterfowl, which perhaps are very ancient, and yet they are as bright and fresh today as though they were finished but yesterday. Another mosque, called Eski Djuma, or 'Old Friday,' is probably the most ancient building of the city. It was not only at one time a Christian church, but before the Christian era it was a temple of Venus. Its very name, 'Old Friday,' preserves this tradition, as Friday (*Vendredi* in the French) is the Day of Venus. In this mosque there are some very ancient Ionic columns and two fine rows of columns with Corinthian capitals. These shafts have been painted dark green and the capitals flesh color, perhaps in honor of a visit of the sultan to the city some years since! All these columns doubtless belonged to the Temple of Venus.

"This city was, until within a few years, the possessor of two triumphal arches erected in the time of the Roman emperors. The oldest one, which spanned the Via Egnatia at the western extremity of the city, without doubt existed in Paul's time, and he probably passed under in going out of the city to Berea. Upon this column was the inscription referring to the 'Poli-

tarchs,' which is exactly the name (a strange one to scholars) which Luke gives to the rulers of the city in the Acts. This arch was pulled down to furnish materials for the quay. The



THE ARCH OF CONSTANTINE

larger part of the stone upon which was found the inscription has been placed in the British Museum.

"The Arch of Constantine, of which we give a picture, still spans the Via Egnatia at the eastern extremity of the city. Upon each of the bases are very interesting sculptured bas-reliefs in stone, though somewhat injured by fires and the hand of time. The figures represent a Roman triumph. Although the arch goes by the name of Constantine, a Danish antiquarian, who

spent a good deal of time in studying it, believes it to belong to the time of the Emperor Galerius (305-311 A.D)."

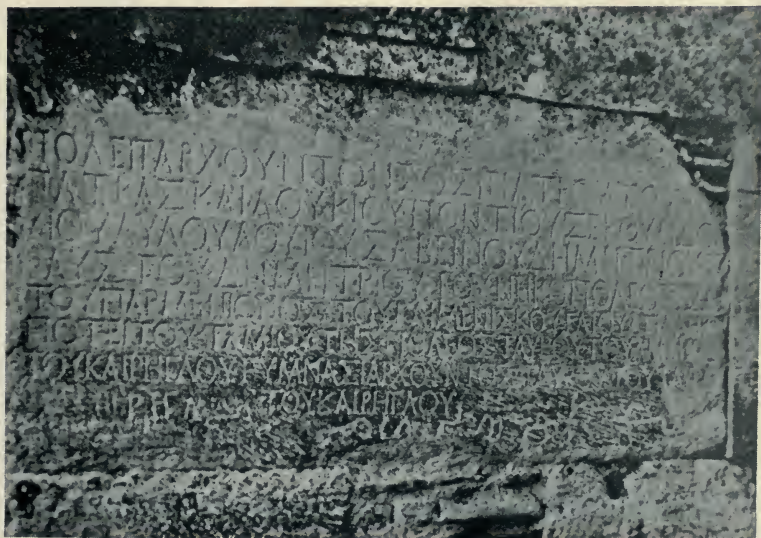
The fire referred to in the above paragraph occurred in 1890, and not only damaged the Mosque of St. Sophia, but wholly consumed the Metropolitan church of the city, an ancient Byzantine structure. Of these and the other ancient buildings of the city, as they were before this fire, a very full and excellent account, illustrated with colored plates, is given in Texier and Pullan, *Byzantine Architecture*, London, 1864. In the process of pulling down the arch,¹ which till 1876 stood over the Via Egnatia at its western end, the valuable inscription of which Dr. House speaks narrowly escaped destruction, and indeed five letters of it which were upon a separate stone were lost. The following letter of Mr. Barker, English consul at Thessalonica in 1877, written to Rev. David Morton and published in the *Northampton Herald* in 1878, tells the story of the rescue and seems worthy of reproduction here as illustrating the vicissitudes to which the valuable monuments of antiquity are subject:

"The marble slab, of which you enclosed a photograph, was saved from destruction by the Rev. Peter Crosbie, missionary to the Jews in this city. The adjoining slab you mention, with the five letters on it, was also rescued and placed behind the other slab at a distance from the arch, which was being demolished. It happened very unfortunately that the late consul here, Mr. Blunt, sent men to bring the slab to his house, not knowing the existence of the long piece behind. Mr. Crosbie was absent and the piece was lost, carried away with the other materials to build a quay. As soon as the loss was discovered much search was then made to no purpose, and there is now not the least chance of its being recovered, because it was a long but narrow piece, and must have been used in making the quay and is under water."

Happily a photograph of the inscription was taken before the arch was demolished, and thus the whole inscription preserved.

¹ A picture of this arch, known in the city as the Vardar gate, is contained in Cousinery, *Voyage dans la Macedonie*, published in 1831, and is reproduced in Lewin, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, Vol. I., p. 226.

Below is a reproduction of this photograph followed by a transcription and translation of it.



ΠΟΛΕΙΤΑΡΧΟΥΝΤΩΝ ΣΩΣΙΠΑΤΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΛΕΟ
ΠΑΤΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΟΥΚΙΟΥ ΠΟΝΤΙΟΥ ΣΕΚΟΥΝΔΟΥ
ΥΙΟΥ ΑΥΛΟΥ ΛΟΥΙΟΥ ΣΑΒΕΙΝΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ
ΦΑΥΣΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΝΕΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΟΣ ΧΩΛΟΥ
ΤΟΥ ΠΑΡΜΕΝΙΟΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΥ ΓΑΙΟΥ ΑΓΙΛΛΗΙΟΥ
ΠΟΤΕΙΤΟΥ ΤΑΜΙΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΟΣ ΤΑΥΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΜΜΙΑΣ
ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΡΗΓΛΟΥ ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΤΑΥΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΤΑΥΡΟΥ
ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΡΗΓΛΟΥ

TRANSLATION.

When Sosipater, the son of Cleopatra and Lucius Pontius Secundus, Aulus Avius Sabinus, Demetrius the son of Faustus, Demetrius the son of Nicopolis, Cholos the son of Parmenion, surnamed Meniscus, Gaius Agilleius Potitus were politarchs, when Taurus surnamed Regulus, the son of Ammia, was treasurer of the city, when Taurus the son of Taurus, surnamed Regulus, was gymnasiarch.¹

¹ This inscription has been copied many times, but almost always more or less

The cosmopolitan character of modern Thessalonica is interestingly shown in the names by which it is known. The Greeks still call the city Thessalonica, letters to the city being addressed *εἰς τὴν Θεσσαλονίκην*. The Germans, of whom there is a colony in the city, call it Saloniki; the English Salonica; the Spanish Jews use the French name Salonique; the Turks call it Sélanik; the Italians Salonicco; the Bulgarians Sólun. This cosmopolitan character is also illustrated by the calendars which are printed for use in the city. A leaf from one of these is reproduced at the end of this article. The first three lines are in Turkish; the fourth and fifth lines on the left are Armenian; the fifth line on the right is Hebrew-Spanish; the sixth line on the left is Greek; the seventh Bulgarian. The leaf is that for Friday, October 20th, old style—November 1st, new style. The French is apparently added for the benefit of Occidentals in general.

The population of the city is about 120,000, made up approximately as follows: 80,000 Spanish Jews; 15,000 or more

incorrectly. The only point on which there now remains room for reasonable doubt is respecting the last word of the fourth line. Some read it ΖΟΛΟΥ, others ΖΩΛΟΥ; the photograph, however, seems to show clearly that the initial letter is X, and we have ventured accordingly to transcribe the word as ΧΩΛΟΥ. Our readers who have Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, or Lewin's work of like title, will see that the transcription of the inscription given by these writers can be corrected from the photograph in several particulars. Both these works derive their copy from Boeckh, *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, Vol. II, No. 1967, but both apparently overlook the remark in the Appendix, Vol. II, p. 990, in which the opinion that the inscription contains the names of seven politarchs is retracted and an interpretation adopted which yields six names. Concerning the history of the transcription of this inscription, see Vaux, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, New Series, Vol. VIII; *Archives des Missions Scientifiques et Littéraires*, Series III, Vol. III, Paris, 1876, p. 204 f. Concerning other inscriptions containing the word πολιάρχης or πολιταρχέω, see *Archives*, etc., p. 205 ff., 276 ff., and esp. p. 211; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, Leipzig, 1883; Tozer, *Highlands of Turkey*, Vol. I, p. 145, footnote; Vol. II, appendix, B.; J. E. Somerville, B.D., in *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, April 1886. We are informed by Rev. E. B. Haskell, an American missionary in Thessalonica, to whom we are indebted for a considerable part of the information concerning Thessalonica as it is to-day which is contained in this article, that there is in that city now a slab containing the word, a photograph of it being also in the British Museum. This is probably the one referred to by Mr. Somerville. For a portion of the references contained in this note, and for valuable suggestions respecting the interpretation of the inscription we are indebted to Professor F. B. Tarbell of the University of Chicago.

Turks; 15000 or more Greeks; 5000 Bulgarians, and 5000 Europeans, chiefly Italians and Germans. Somerville gave the same total population in his article ten years ago, but varied slightly in his estimate of the several elements. In 1847, the English consul, Mr. Blunt, estimated the total population at 63,000, of whom 30,000 were Jews.

Thessalonica is the terminus of three railroads, all of which are shown on the map which we reproduce on a following page from a Kiepert map published by Reimer of Berlin. The oldest of the three has been in operation for ten years. It runs north-westward to Uskub (Skoplia) whence two branches run respectively to Mitrowitz and Nisch. At Nisch connections are made for Belgrad and Buda-Pesth, and there in turn for central and western Europe. The management of the Oriental railroads issues through time-tables from Thessalonica to Paris, which for the interest of our readers we reproduce in condensed form.

Westward		Eastward
6:00 A.M.	Salonica	9:00 P.M.
1:30 P.M.	Uskub	1:30 P.M.
9:40 P.M.	Nisch	5:31 A.M.
4:53 A.M.	Belgrad	10:34 P.M.
1:10 P.M.	Buda-Pesth	2:35 P.M.
7:05 P.M.	Vienna	8:25 A.M.
8:20 P.M.	Vienna	6:45 A.M.
6:55 A.M.	Munich	9:03 P.M.
12:28 P.M.	Stuttgart	1:54 P.M.
5:06 P.M.	Strassburg	9:40 A.M.
9:31 P.M.	Nancy	3:20 A.M.
5:10 A.M.	Paris	8:25 P.M.

The road to Monastir was completed June 25, 1894. It passes Berœa, now known as Verria (in Turkish, Karaferria). The station is about a mile and a half from the town, which, however, stands out in plain view on the hillside. The population is Greek and Turkish. This road ascends some 2000 feet in the 125 miles of its length.

The third road is called "Salonique—Constantinople," but extends in fact only as far east as Dedayagatch on the seashore just northeast of Samothrace. This road has been in operation but a few months, having been opened in the closing weeks of



MAP
OF
GREECE
AND
SOUTHWESTERN
TURKEY

SHOWING RAILROADS FROM
THESSALONIKA

1895. At Dedayagatch it makes connections with a road to Adrianople, whence another road runs to Stamboul. It is expected eventually to continue the road from Thessalonica and Dedayagatch on to Rodosto on the sea of Marmora.

These important railroad connections are sure still further to increase the commercial importance of Thessalonica, which is already surpassed in European Turkey only by Constantinople itself. By New Testament scholars, interested also in the progress in modern times of that gospel that Paul once preached "from Jerusalem round about to Illyricum" the future of this long-lived city of Thessalonica will be watched with keen interest, and with the hope that it may yet become again what it once was, a center of Christian influence. E. D. B.

١٣١١	جمادى الآخرة
٢٠	١٤
كول ٣١ وقت ظهر ٦ ٤٧	كول ٣٠ روز غفر ١٨١
٦٤٥٨ 6-47 Mer. (1895) Midi 6-38 Jr. 30	٦٤٥٦ ٦٤٥ ١٤
Ζητην. Η-ΡΕΨΑΡ	Novem.-Vendredi
Οκτωμβρ.-Παρασκευή	TOUSSAINT
20	1
Ἀρτεμίου Μεγαλο- μάρτυρος	Θωμάς 0ρ 31

THE PARABLE OF THE FIELD.

By the REV. PROFESSOR C. J. H. ROPES,
Bangor, Maine.

The problem—The universal claim of Christianity.—Its apparent failure to make the claim good.—The solution found in the parable.

THE originality of Christ's teachings, visible everywhere, is concentrated in his parables. In these, by a few graphic touches, he makes us all clearly see some truth, which otherwise would be difficult to grasp. This is particularly true of that parable which is usually called "The Sower." It is really the parable of the field, and only one of several parables of the sower. It is the parable, not of the preacher but of the hearer. It not only sets before us, but it solves, the strange problem which confronts every preacher, every pastor, every Christian worker, who is trying to lead others to a knowledge of the truth as it is in Christ Jesus.

What is that problem? It is presented by the evident discrepancy between the claims and the success of Christianity. Christ demands the allegiance of every human heart. Christianity claims to be, not *a* religion but *the* religion, the universal and only religion. Christ says that he is "the way, the truth, the life." Yet what Christian worker does not know, that when we try to proclaim the teaching of Christ, it does not seem to make good his claims by its success. Moreover this absolute, universal claim of Christianity is not a result of circumstances, or a growth of history, like, for example, the pope's claim to supreme authority. The carpenter of Nazareth taught the fishermen of Bethsaida an absolutism which recognizes no exceptions and permits no appeal from its authority. And those fishermen in their turn, wove into the very constitution and life of the early church this claim to absolute and universal dominion. The ruthless persecution to which Christianity was exposed, almost from the first, might have been to a great extent escaped, had Christianity been content with a place among other religions,

or with an empire over certain nations or races. The whole struggle of Christianity with heathenism is characterized and inspired by the insatiable universality and the indomitable absolutism of the new religion. It would not tolerate being tolerated. It neither gave nor received quarter. It not only refused to surrender anything, but it demanded from all, unconditional surrender.

Seeing then that is of the very essence of Christianity to seek all men for its own; seeing that it claims to respond to the real need of every human heart; it is passing strange to find so many who are unresponsive to its claims and rebellious against its sway. This is the problem of the field; the discrepancy between what it claimed for the seed and what is seen of the crop. We are familiar with this discrepancy elsewhere. Take the analogy used in the parable itself. How often the glowing descriptions in the seedsman's catalogue disappoint us! We plant the vaunted seed, and look in vain for the thirtyfold, sixtyfold, hundredfold promised. But when we read the Bible catalogue of the Divine Seedsman, we do not anticipate such disappointments.

As we try to speak Christ's words, we see before us that array of upturned faces. We know how great is the need that underlies so many different expressions. We have the glad tidings, the truth of the gospel. From our own experience and what others tell us, we recognize that there is not a need in all the world, which the message of salvation will not satisfy. Is it not a strange thing? Here are the hungry, and we offer them bread, and they will not eat it. Here are the thirsty, and we bring them water, and they will not drink it. Here are the lame, the deaf, the dumb, the blind, the fevered, the leprous, and we have healing medicine for all, but they will not receive it. Here are the dying, who refuse to accept life from the Saviour. Now the Bible claims, as we have said, that its teachings are suited to all men in all lands and all ages; Christ calls all the laboring and heavy-laden to himself, and promises them rest. There surely cannot be any mistake! It cannot be that Christianity is adapted, like philosophy, only to a select few! Can Christ's words be unintelligible to the great sinning and suffer-

ing world? But why are they not accepted everywhere and by all? Our parable answers, it is due to the nature of the *field*. The seed is everywhere good, the soil is not. This parable teaches that there are certain prerequisites, which are necessary to render faith in Christ possible; or rather, that there are certain obstacles in the unregenerate heart, which make faith impossible until they are removed. These are the characteristics of the soil in which a part of the seed is sown.

Sometimes it is indifference. This is the wayside heart. By the foot-falls of thought, word, and deed, paths of habit are made, in which the heart is trodden down into hardness and apathy, made no longer susceptible of religious impressions. Sometimes the hardness is not on the surface, but lower down. This is the rock. Here there may be plenty of surface susceptibility, even to the point of religious sentimentality, but no chance for depth of religious character, or permanence of religious life. Sometimes it is the divided heart, given in part to religion, but in part also to the world. This is the thorny ground. There can be no partnership between Christ and the world, and here the world has preëmpted the heart. Christ never takes the second place anywhere.

Such are the obstacles which prevent faith. None of them is intellectual. They are all moral, or rather immoral. There is here no case of doubt which cannot accept Christ, but only wills which will not accept him.

This is the problem presented by the field,—the field as Christ, the great sower, found it. We need not wonder if we encounter the same obstacles. We ought not to be discouraged if our words for Christ find no readier acceptance than his own. But to recognize these obstacles to faith is to begin to overcome them,—to rouse the indifferent, to melt the stubborn, to win the worldly. Let us show those for whom we work, that we realize their difficulties and their dangers, and so help them also to realize their situation. It may be that we can assist them to prepare for the good seed, by acquiring, through God's free grace, the "honest and good heart," which yields "thirtyfold, and sixtyfold, and a hundredfold."

A SKETCH OF THE EXCAVATIONS IN BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA.

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Nothing done up to beginning of this century — First Excavator was Rich — First period: He was followed by Layard — French Excavations in the same period — Rawlinson's decipherment of Behistun inscriptions. — Second period: Geo. Smith, E. de Sarzec, Rassam, University of Pennsylvania.

At the beginning of the present century, little was known of the ancient cities of Babylonia and Assyria aside from the meager and imperfect accounts given by the Jewish and Greek historians. Between 1790 and 1795, the Abbé Beauchamp^r sent to Paris some specimen bricks covered with Babylonian characters. The excitement occasioned by these short inscriptions, and especially by the report that the ruins of Babylon had been discovered in the vicinity of Hilleh, caused the East India Company to issue orders to their agent in Bassorah to obtain as quickly as possible a collection of these Babylonian inscriptions and to send them over Bombay to England. Between 1801 and 1810 several different collections were shipped, among which was the famous Nebuchadnezzar stone in ten columns, called the East India Inscription, and now in the India office in London.

As yet no systematic work had been done in excavating these old Assyrian and Babylonian ruins. Claudius James Rich, an Englishman, the East India Company's representative in Baghdad, was the first to begin such excavations. Rich commenced his work in 1811 and in 1812 published his "Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon," and in 1818 his "Second Memoir on

^rWe pass over the travels and writings of Benjamin of Tudela (about 1160); Rabbi Pethachiah of Ratisbon a short time after the death of Benjamin; Conti (1444); Ortelius of Antwerp, who published his Geographical Treasury in 1596, in which was incorporated all that was known at that time of Oriental geography; Hakluyt's collections of travels and voyages (1599) containing an account, translated from Italian, of the travels of Cesare de Federici, who was the first to give us a description of

Babylon, etc." Rich continued his work until 1820, sending at intervals to England such remains of inscriptions, bricks, sculptures, etc., as were excavated. In 1820, he made a journey for his health into the Kurdish mountains, and, on his return, he spent a few days in Mosul on the Tigris. From Mosul, he saw on the other side of the river, mounds similar to those at Hilleh. Rich came to the conclusion that these mounds represented the site of the Assyrian Empire. On his return down the Tigris to Baghdad, he landed at the mouth of the Upper Zab, and examined the mound there, called by the Arabs Nimrud. He collected a number of inscribed bricks which are now in the British Museum.

After a lapse of twenty years, in the Spring of 1840, Austin Henry Layard visited the ruins of Nineveh as identified by Rich. In 1842 Layard returned to Mosul without having made any excavations. Here he met the French consul, P. C. Botta. Layard, being without the means necessary to carry on the excavations, strongly urged Botta to direct his attention to the work. In 1843 Botta was able to begin and he continued until

Akerkuf, identified in recent years as the Dur-Kurigalzu of the inscriptions; Rauwolf of Augsburg, who describes Akerkuf as the Tower of Babel (1573); about the beginning of the seventeenth century, John Cartwright, the first European to attempt a survey of the ruins of Nineveh; Don Garcia de Silvey Figuerola, ambassador of Philip III of Spain to the court of Persia; Pietro della Valle (1621), who still regarded Baghdad as the site of Babylon, and who identified the great mound near Hilleh (=Babil) as the sight of the Tower of the Confusion of Tongues; Pedro Teixeira, a Portuguese; Sir Thomas Herbert (1626); Tavernier, who visited Mosul in 1644; Pater Vincenzo Maria di Santa Caterina da Siena (1657) who was the first, since Benjamin of Tudela, to identify the site of Babylon with Hilleh as over against Baghdad; Flower (1667); Chardin who in 1674 copied the so-called Window inscription, the shortest of the trilingual Achæmenian inscriptions; Engelbert Kämpfer (about 1694) who copied the so-called *H^a* Persepolis inscription; Cornelis de Bruin (1701); Otter, in 1734, who was the first to notice the Behistun inscriptions and reliefs, afterwards copied by Rawlinson and used in the decipherment of the inscriptions; Edward Ives (1758); Pater Emmanuel de Saint Albert, whose report on the Ruins of Babylon to the Duke of Orleans formed the basis of D'Anville's Memoir on the position of Babylon read before the French Academy of inscriptions in 1755; Carsten Niebuhr, who in 1765 copied several Achæmenian inscriptions, and from whose plates Grotefend afterward deciphered the names of Darius and Xerxes, thus opening the way for all future work in this line; Count Caylus, who in 1762 published the celebrated Vase of Xerxes, with the quadrilingual inscription—in Egyptian (Hieroglyphs), Old Persian, Susian and Babylonian—"Xerxes the great king."

1845, during which time he laid bare the city walls of Khorsabad and discovered many valuable inscriptions. "To him is due the honor of having found the first Assyrian monument" says Layard in his interesting review of Botta's excavations published in "Nineveh and its Remains." Botta's communications were given to the *Académie* through Mohl. Later an artist was assigned to him and means for further excavations. By order of the French government Botta published in 1849-51 his "Monuments of Nineveh," in which are to be found 200 pages of inscriptions.

In the Spring of 1845, Sir Stratford Canning, at that time English Ambassador at Constantinople, offered Layard sufficient money to undertake excavations. Towards the end of the year, Layard began work on the ruins of Nimrud. From the very beginning he was successful. The sum allotted by Canning gave out in June 1847, and Layard was again compelled to return to England. During the two years, however, he had laid bare three large Assyrian palaces, viz., the Northwest palace of Asurnasirpal (884-858 B.C.); the Central palace, probably built by the successor of Asurnasirpal, Shalmaneser II (858-823 B.C.) in which was found the celebrated Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser (now in the British Museum); and the Southwest palace of Esarhaddon (680-669 B.C.). The richest returns came from the Northwest palace, and the inscriptions found were in a much better state of preservation than those excavated by Botta in Sargon's palace at Khorsabad.

Sir Stratford Canning generously presented the entire results of Layard's expedition to the British Museum, to which place they were shipped by the explorer himself. Layard shortly afterwards published an account of his work in "Nineveh and its Remains." This book created a great sensation in England, and as a result, the English government became interested in the excavations. In 1849, Layard was given leave of absence from his diplomatic post in Constantinople and sent back to Assyria, and Hormuzd Rassam, English Consul at Mosul—but a native Arab—was ordered to join him. During the first expedition, Layard had confined his operations to Nimrud, but in this, his second, he

began work at Koujunjik. Botta had already conducted excavations at this mound, but with comparatively little success. In his first expedition, Layard had found the Southwest palace of Sennacherib (705-681 B. C.) as restored by his grandson Asurbanipal, but he had not been able to carry his work to completion. In his second trip (1849-51), this building was fully brought to light. This palace was the largest yet found, containing seventy-three rooms. Excavations were also made in Nebbi-Yunus, and in Chaleh Shergat (the old Assur). In Nebbi-Yunus, palaces of Ramman-nirari (811-782), Sennacherib and Esarhaddon were found, while in Chaleh Shergat, Layard, or rather Rassam, discovered the foundations of a palace of Tiglathpileser I, and here was found the large cylinder of 800 lines belonging to Tiglathpileser I (about 1120 B. C.). During this expedition, Layard also visited several sites in Babylonia, but he was able to accomplish little or nothing. In 1853 he published "A Second Series of the Monuments of Nineveh," including bas-reliefs from the palace of Sennacherib and bronzes from the ruins of Nimroud, from drawings made on the spot, during a second expedition to Assyria (71 plates). In 1851, he published his "Inscriptions in Cuneiform Characters."

Immediately following and closely connected with Layard's second expedition was that of Hormuzd Rassam (1852-4), during which the North palace of Asurbanipal was discovered and laid bare. In this was found the celebrated "Library of Asurbanipal," containing thousands of clay tablets inscribed on both sides.

About the same time with Rassam (1852-4 or rather 1851-5) Victor Place, the French consul at Mosul, took up the work of excavating at Khorsabad which had been begun by Botta. While this work was going on in Assyria, Loftus in 1849, Fresnel and Oppert in 1852, and Taylor in 1852 began excavations in Babylonia. In 1853-4, Loftus and Taylor visited and afterwards described the ruins of Warka, Senkereh, Ur, etc. The French expedition was badly managed, but it must be acknowledged that almost all that we know of the topography of Babylonia dates from this expedition. The boat

containing the results of their excavations was wrecked in the Tigris on May 23, 1855, and hence the inscriptions never reached Paris. Accounts of both of these expeditions have been given by Oppert and Loftus respectively. With these expeditions what may be called the first period of Assyro-Babylonian excavations comes to an end.

Before going to the Second Period, mention must be made of the work of Rawlinson on the famous Behistun inscription. This inscription consists of about 400 lines and it was carved, by order of Darius Hystaspes, on a steep mountain—about 1700 feet high—called Behistun (near Kermanschah). The English officer not only copied this inscription for the first time (between the years 1835 and 1837), but he also made the first translation, having worked at intervals on this inscription from 1835–46, when he brought his manuscript, containing the copy of the Babylonian text, to London. After the close of the first period, no excavations were made for almost twenty years. During this time Layard published his “Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character from Assyrian Monuments,” and the first three volumes of the “Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia” had appeared, edited by Rawlinson with the help of Norris and George Smith.

In 1872, George Smith had the good fortune to discover some tablets containing the Chaldean account of the Deluge. The results of his find were laid bare before the Society of Biblical Archæology on December 3, 1872. “In consequence of the wide interest taken at the time in these discoveries, the proprietors of the *Daily Telegraph* newspaper came forward and offered to advance a sum of one thousand guineas for fresh researches at Nineveh in order to recover more of these interesting inscriptions, the terms of agreement being that I should conduct the expedition, and should supply the *Telegraph* from time to time with accounts of my journeys and discoveries in the East in return.” In January 1873, with George Smith, the Second Period of Excavations began. Between 1873 and 1876 Smith made three expeditions, from the last of which he never returned, dying on his homeward journey at Aleppo, August 19, 1876, of

a fever contracted at Baghdad. Smith's chief work was to make a more thorough examination of the palaces in Koujunjik, and especially the Northwest palace discovered by Rassam. Rassam continued the work begun by Smith, and between 1877 and 1881 made three expeditions. The chief results of the first was the uncovering of another palace of Asurnasirpal at Nimrud and the finding of the Bronze Gates of Shalmaneser II. In the same year he visited the palaces of Sennacherib and Asurbanipal at Koujunjik, and brought back with him about 1400 tablets and the large ten-column cylinder of Asurbanipal, known as the RM. In his second expedition, he directed his attention to Babylon. Besides the so-called Egibi tablets, contracts, etc., he brought back with him this time inscriptions of Nebuchadrezzar, Nabonidus and Cyrus. During the last trip the most important discovery was the Temple of the Sun at Abu-Habba (Sippara).

From 1877, while Rassam was also at work, the French consul at Bassorah, Ernest de Sarzec, had been excavating at Telloh (Shirpurla, Lagash). The finds are for the most part non-Semitic. They are now in the Louvre. De Sarzec has been excavating at Telloh, at intervals during the last nineteen years.

The first American Expedition to Babylonia was the Catherine Wolfe under the direction of Dr. William Hayes Ward of the *Independent* (1884). The purpose of this party was to explore and to describe sites rather than to excavate.

In 1884-5, M. Dieulafoy made excavations under the direction of the French Government at Susa. The results obtained are at present in the Louvre.

In 1888 and 1889, Messrs. Human, Luschan and Winter conducted excavations at a Hittite mound known as Zinjirli, in the Antioch plain at the base of the Amanus Mountains, about 50 miles west of Aintab.

The British Museum has been purchasing tablets in the East and excavating during the last ten years under the direction of Dr. E. A. W. Budge, Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities.

The last expedition to Babylon was that of the Babylonian Exploration Fund, under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania (1888, still in progress.)¹

The most important finds made by the native Arabs are those of Tel-el-Amarna in 1887. These have been noticed at some length in this JOURNAL, *cf.* Vol. I., p. 50.

¹*Cf.* The articles on the Expedition in *The Old and New Testament Student*, Vol. XIV, pp. 160, 213; *THE BIBLICAL WORLD*, Vol. I, pp. 57, 135.

THE CHARACTER OF JESUS

A BASIS OF CONFIDENCE IN THE GOSPEL RECORD.

By REV. N. S. BURTON, D.D.

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Are the Gospels trustworthy?—Some undisputed propositions on the point.—Bearing of the argument from the Character of Jesus as revealed in these Gospels.—How account for this portraiture?—Insufficiency of the legendary theory.—Jesus a real personage.—The writers divinely guided.—The miracles not fictitious.—Power of the Gospel accounted for.

PROFESSOR HUXLEY not long ago made this assertion, "From the narratives of Herodotus to those set forth in yesterday's *Times*, all history is to be read subject to the warning that fiction has its share therein." This dictum may be fairly stated thus, "No detailed narrative, oral or written, is to be accepted as perfectly accurate." This is doubtless true respecting every narrative coming from ordinary human sources. Is it also true respecting the gospels of the New Testament? Many a Christian pastor and teacher has good reason to know that among those under his instruction there are some at least, who, though they may never have read Mr. Huxley's writings, are troubled with doubts respecting the ground of their confidence in the New Testament records concerning Jesus, and whose power for service is weakened by these doubts. Is it possible to point out a pathway by which those who are thus befogged may rise above the fog into the clear atmosphere of intelligent faith?

That we may proceed with sure step there must be found as the basis of our inquiry some propositions which are granted as practically undisputed. This is necessary alike in physical and in religious science. In the present case this is not difficult to do. All scholarship that we need to take seriously into account accepts (1) the Pauline authorship of at least the epistles to the Romans, and to the Corinthians, and to the Galatians, and of course their existence as early as the latter part of the first century; (2) the existence of Christian churches in many cities

of the Roman empire before the close of the first century; (3) the existence of the four gospels, substantially as they now exist, as early certainly as the latter half of the second century. To these we may add (4) a fourth, which however the inquirer need not take wholly on authority, because he is competent to form an independent opinion, viz., that the man Christ Jesus, who is the chief character presented in the four gospels, was a real historical person and that, whether he was absolutely perfect or not, what Renan affirms is true, "Whatever be the surprises of the future, Jesus will never be surpassed."

Let this fourth proposition be our starting point. For it is not merely the unanimous verdict of all competent and scholarly critics; any person of average intelligence may satisfy himself of its correctness by a careful and candid reading of the narratives of the four evangelists. To do this it will not be necessary for the student to accept the opinion of the four evangelists. The verdict of scholars rests not on this, but on the facts narrated, and the self-evidencing character of them all taken together. Indeed the evangelists have scarcely expressed¹ any opinions respecting Jesus; nor has any of them even attempted a portrait of him. What they have done is to narrate certain sayings and acts of his. Each one tells some things not told by any others, and some things told by one or more of the other three, but each one of these brief memoirs is fragmentary, and when put together, however skillfully, they fail to furnish us anything like a complete biography of him. And yet from the careful reading of these four fragmentary sketches, the scholarship of this age is convinced that the principal personage presented in them was so far superior to any other made known by history, that he cannot be the creation of these narrators—that they could not have invented him—that, in short, he was a real person. Every act recorded of him and every word which he is represented as having spoken has been microscopically scrutinized, and pronounced faultless. The situations in which he was often placed were such as to require the utmost discretion in speech and action, but he is admitted always to have spoken and done the wisest thing on all occasions.

How is this phenomenon to be accounted for—not the existence of this ideal character, but the existence of these unmatched records? How were these four men able, not to paint a perfect portrait,—this they have not done or attempted,—but to furnish in fragments, the factors which combined make up the portrait of the ideal man? We have before us not an extended narrative of a single occurrence, but scores of narratives from four different sources, in each of which the same personage is introduced, and in no one of them is he represented as saying a word or doing an act, that judged even by the standards of the nineteenth century, convicts him of fault or imperfection. We are supposed not to know when or by whom these four fragmentary memoirs were written. Let us, for the moment, assume that they took their present form as late as the middle of the second century, more than a century after the death of the principal actor, and that they were then compiled out of a great mass of legendary and mythical matter that had accumulated during this long, credulous and uncritical period. Now is it conceivable that the traditions which grew up during that long and uncritical period contained nothing discreditable to Jesus—that no hasty or unwise or unkind word was attributed to him—no abuse of the confidence which he had inspired—no exercise of the wonderful power which he is represented as possessing for unrighteous or selfish purposes, or even for his own protection or to confound and triumph over his enemies—no vindictive act or angry word called forth by the persistent provocations of his enemies—no utterances in conflict with each other? Consider how slight a thing would have been sufficient to betray imperfection in him, and then say whether it is conceivable that when these compilers a century and more after the death of Jesus, came to write their memoirs out of a collection of myths and legends, they found in all this crude material nothing attributed to him that marred the symmetry or sullied the purity of his character? Surely no intelligent person will set up such a claim. Well then, if, as we cannot but believe, they found all sorts of faults and imperfections attributed to him in these legends, with what kind of a sieve did they separate the chaff from the wheat—the rubbish

and the dross from the pure gold, so perfectly? Were they men of such remarkable critical powers as to be able, as by intuition, to distinguish between the gold of truth and the rubbish of tradition? This would be to set up a claim for these four obscure and ordinary men such as it would be the extreme of arrogance for any historical scholar to set up for himself.

Shall we then abandon the mythical and legendary theory, and grant that the evangelists were personal witnesses of what they each narrate, or at least received it from eyewitnesses? This may go a long way towards accounting for the phenomenon presented by these unique memoirs, but if the dictum be true that "narratives in yesterday's *Times* have their share of fiction," how does it happen that the "fiction" in the narratives of the evangelists never obscures the brightness of the perfect ideal presented in Jesus?

To this it may be answered that if the fiction were accepted as fact it would mar the ideal, and we should no longer regard Jesus as faultless, and that just because we believe Jesus to have been faultless we regard as fictitious whatever in the narratives of the evangelists would mar his faultlessness.

Let us submit this answer to the test of examination. It is the miracles attributed by the evangelists to Jesus to which objection is chiefly made by those who regard the gospels as partly fictitious. Expurgate from the gospels all that claims to be miraculous and you omit everything that indicates sympathy and pity for suffering and want on the part of Jesus. There is no record that he ever gave a penny of money in charity, though beggars abounded in Palestine, or that he ever clothed the naked, or fed the hungry except on the two occasions when he did it by miracle. The record of his miracles if accepted as true, proves him to have been full of compassion and tenderness toward the needy and suffering, but if rejected, leaves us without proof that he ever did a charitable deed. Silver and gold he had none, but such as he had—divine power to relieve suffering and assuage sorrow, he gave freely and abundantly. Expurgate all accounts of miracles and you take away the natural occasion for much of his teaching, and make the accounts seem unnatural and improb-

able. And, what is more, you rob the gospels of the richest instruction contained in them, for the record of his miracles is more full of instruction than even the parables. They were object-lessons equally with the parables rich in truth, and more impressive.

The objection to the reality of Christ's miracles may be stated thus: "You do not believe the stories of miracles which you find in Livy or Herodotus. Why then should you believe those which you find in the narratives of the evangelists?" The reply to this is: If Livy or Herodotus had given us such a personality in all respects as the evangelists have given us in Jesus, equal to him in moral perfection and greatness, and had ascribed to him such a mission as the evangelists ascribe to Jesus, and had represented him as performing, in attestation of his mission, miracles which in their character, as acts of compassion and kindness, as evidences of the possession of supernatural power, and so of a divine mission, would bear comparison with the miracles of Jesus, while at the same they embodied the most precious and vital truths—if, I say, Livy or Herodotus had done this, we might well accept as truthful their stories of miracles. But it is safe to say that neither they nor any other historians, outside the Christian Scriptures, have done this nor anything approaching it. If Jesus was, as Renan asserts, a man who surpassed all that had preceded him, and who will never be surpassed, his appearance in a nation and age and in social surroundings such as existed when he lived, is itself a miracle. No natural cause or set of causes could have produced him. He is so manifestly supernatural that we cannot but expect him to do supernatural things. He is so manifestly supernatural that we expect him to announce a supernatural mission, and our expectation is confirmed when he tells us that he came from heaven to save the world.

If it be said that though the evangelists could not have invented Jesus, they could have invented the stories of the miracles, and so, though we cannot but believe that Jesus was the perfect man they represent him, we are not obliged to believe that he performed the miracles they attribute to him, this must be denied. For in truth the miracles were as much beyond the power of the evangelists to invent as was Jesus him-

self,—and it is unreasonable to believe that they could have sifted out of the material from which they compiled their gospels everything that would have marred the symmetry and purity of Christ's character, and yet have admitted a camel-load of extravagant and incredible stories under the name of miracles, if they were in fact mere inventions.

Let any candid doubter, of average intelligence, take the record of Christ's miracles and study it in the order of their occurrence, as nearly as that can be ascertained, note how naturally they fit into the time and place and occasion that called them forth, observe the benevolent purpose of them all, the absence of design to excite mere wonder, to minister to his own convenience or comfort, or to inflict harm upon, or win a triumph over, his enemies; observe how they gradually reveal his lordship over nature and the world of matter and mind; and finally follow them in order and see how complete is the system of instruction they furnish for his disciples whom he was training to be the heralds of his gospel to the world; and he cannot but be convinced that no human intellect was competent to invent a set of stories like these,—that, in short, as Jesus must have been a real person because the evangelists were not competent to invent him, so the accounts these same evangelists have given of the miracles must be true because they never could have invented them. De Quincy has said: "The evangelists could no more have invented the parables than a man, alleging a diamond mine, could invent a diamond in attestation. The parables prove themselves." With greater confidence may it be affirmed that the miracles prove themselves. The evangelists could no more have invented them than a scientist could invent a sunset. As the verdict of the scholarship of the age is that no such record of a life as that of Jesus could have been made if it had not been lived, so no such record of miracles could have been made if they had not first been performed.

To sum up what has been presented above: (1) A study of the records of the evangelists such as any honest inquirer might pursue under the guidance of an intelligent pastor or teacher would result in an intelligent conviction that Jesus was a real person

and the most perfect man of the human race. (2) This conviction would be accompanied by another, that the men whose narratives give us this representation of the person of Jesus must, in some way, have been gifted with rare critical power, and are worthy of belief when they represent Jesus as promising his disciples that the Holy Spirit should guide them into all the truth and bring to their remembrance what he had said unto them, and so that the early church were not uncritical when they accepted the records made by the evangelists as divinely inspired. (3) If then the accounts of Christ's miracles be carefully studied, the result cannot fail to be a firm conviction that they are as unlike any records of pretended miracles as Christ is unlike any other man, and so that neither Jesus nor the miracles can be human inventions. (4) He will thus be furnished with a rational explanation of the fact, which Paul's acknowledged epistles show, that the great facts and doctrines of Christianity were well known and believed by Christian converts in Rome and Corinth and Galatia, not more than thirty years after the death of Christ. Thus the sincere inquirer, accepting on authority what all competent authorities agree in accepting, can by steps possible for any person of average intelligence, reach the firm conviction that the four gospels were written by men so endowed, either by nature or by the Holy Spirit, that they did not mistake myths and legends for facts. Here he can stand on firm ground. He has positive knowledge which his ignorance of many other things does not affect. The questions on which the doctors still disagree he can hold in abeyance till they come to an agreement. Any real scholar will tell him that the higher criticism has not yet spoken its last word, and it is quite possible that its last word will set aside many of its former words.

The scholarship of the world, after eighteen centuries is agreed in placing the crown of humanity on the head of Jesus of Nazareth, whom the Jewish ecclesiastical power and the Roman civil power united in putting to death as a perverter of the people. The time may come when, in spite of Professor Huxley's dictum, the scholarship of the world will be agreed in the belief that there is one narrative in which there is no mixture of fiction.

OUTLINE TOPICS IN THE HISTORY OF OLD TESTAMENT PROPHECY.

VI.

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PROPHECY OF THE NORTHERN KINGDOM.

I. LITERARY SOURCES.

1. From the North (*contemporaneous*):¹

- 1) Stories of the Judges, earliest Hebrew stories.
- 2) Northern stories of general character, 1 Sam. 4-6.
- 3) Northern stories of Samuel and Saul, 1 Sam. 8, 15, 28(?).
- 4) The Elijah stories, 1 Kings 17-19, 21.
- 5) Northern stories of general character, 1 Kings 20, 22; 2 Kings 3, 6, 7, 9, 10.
- 6) The Elisha stories, 2 Kings 2; 4-6; 8, 13.
- 7) The E-writer of the Hexateuch.
- 8) The Book of Amos.
- 9) The domestic tragedy of Hosea (1-3).
- 10) The later sermons of Hosea.

2. From the South (*contemporaneous*):¹

- 1) The Saul stories in 1 Sam., chaps. 9, 11, 13, 14.
- 2) The David stories in 1 Sam. 16: 14-2 Sam. 4.
- 3) The David stories in 2 Sam. 5-7; 9-20; 1 Kings 1, 2.
- 4) The J-writer of the Hexateuch.
- 5) The prophecy concerning Moab, Isa. 15, 16.
- [6) The Book of Amos.]
- 7) Isaiah's sermon, 2-4.
- 8) Isaiah's sermons, 5, 9: 8-10: 4; 6.
- 9) Isaiah, 7-9: 6; 17: 1-11; 28.
- 10) Micah, 1-3.

3. Later Traditions.

- 1) In the later material of Kings.

¹ These are not arranged chronologically, but logically; and the details of the analysis are intentionally omitted.

- 2) In the Books of Chronicles.
- 3) In the narrative portions of Isaiah, 1-39.

4. Monumental Sources.¹

- 1) The Shishak inscription.²
- 2) Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions.³
- 3) Phœnician and Moabite inscriptions.⁴
- 4) The use and abuse of monumental material.⁵

2. LIVING PROPHECY.⁶

- 1) The invasion of Shishak.
- 2) Civil war between Israel and Judah during reigns of Jeroboam and Baasha.
- 3) The accession of Omri's dynasty.

¹ Cf. Sayce, *The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments*;² McCurdy, *History, Prophecy and the Monuments*; Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, I and II.

² Wiedemann, *Ägyptische Geschichte*, 542-52; Meyer, *Geschichte des alten Aegyptens*, 329-33; Brugsch, *Ägypt under the Pharaohs*, 375-9; Winckler, *Geschichte Israels*, 175.

³ Inscription of Shalmaneser II (in connection with Ahab), III R. 8: 91, 92; *KB*, I, 172 f.; (tribute from Jehu), Layard, *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform character*, 98:2. Inscription of Tiglathpileser III (tribute from Menahem), III R. 9: 2, l. 50, *KB*, II, 30 f.; (Pekah) III R. 10: 2, l. 28, *KB*, II, 32 f.; (Hoshea) III R. 10: 2, ls. 28 f. *KB*, 32 f.; (in connection with Uzziah of Judah), III R. 9: 2, *KB*, II, 24-7, *KAT*,² 217-23; (tribute from Ahaz of Judah), III R. 67, *KB*, II, 20 f. Inscription of Sargon (capture of Samaria), *KB*, II, 54 f, ls. 23-5.

⁴ The Phœnician inscriptions, of which many have been found, have a general bearing on O. T. history. Cf. Gesenius, *Scripturæ Linguaeque Phœniciae Monumenta*, Movers, *Die Phönizier*; Schröder, *Die Phönizische Sprache*.

Of great importance is the inscription of Mesha, king of Moab, usually called the "Moabite Stone," cf. Smend and Socin, *Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab*, Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, LXXXV-XCIV; Sayce, *Higher Criticism*, 366 ff.

⁵ Brown, *Assyriology, its Use and Abuse*; Evans, *An Essay on Assyriology*; Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the O. T.*; Sayce, *Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments*,² 1-30; McCurdy, *History, Prophecy and the Monuments*.

⁶ The principal dates of the period:— (Those marked with an * are Assyrian dates) *854, Battle of Karkar. *842, Jehu pays tribute to Shalmaneser II. 743-740, campaigns against Arpad. *740-738, Azariah (Uzziah) heads a Syrian coalition against Tiglathpileser III. [?]. 738, Hamath coalition crushed, Menahem and Rezon send tribute. *738, Menahem pays tribute to Tiglathpileser III. 735, Union of Rezon and Pekah against Jotham and Ahaz. 734-732, campaign of Tiglathpileser III in the west. *734, Ahaz pays tribute to Tiglathpileser III. *734-732, Tiglathpileser III invades Israel, recognizes Hoshea. 728, Sabako king of Egypt. 727, Hoshea's revolt subdued by Shalmaneser IV. 725-722, Hoshea's second revolt subdued by Shalmaneser IV. *722, Sargon captures Samaria.

- 4) Israel and Phœnicia ; Ahab.
- 5) The work of Elijah.¹
- 6) Israel and Syria ; wars.
- 7) Israel and Assyria (Shalmaneser II, Karkar).
- 8) Revolt of Moab.
- 9) The accession of Jehu's dynasty.
- 10) Israel, Damascus, and Assyria.
- 11) The work of Elisha.²
- 12) The work of Jonah.³
- 13) The work of Amos.⁴
- 14) Other prophets of the period.
- 15) The work of Hosea.⁵
- 16) The destruction of Damascus by Tiglathpileser, and invasion of Israel.
- 17) The destruction of Samaria by Sargon.

3. EXPERIENCE PROPHECY.

1. The Samuel stories.
2. The Saul stories.

¹Fischer, *Les Mythes Rattachés à la Personne d'Elie; Der Prophet Elia in der Legende in Frankel's ZS*, 1863; Stanley, *Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church*, II, 321-52; Lowrie, *The Translated Prophet*; Taylor, *Elijah the Prophet*; Brettner, *Der proph. Beruf des Elias, ZLTh.*, 1876, IV; Clemen, *Die Wunderberichte über Elia und Elisa*; Ewald, *Hist. of Israel*², IV, 63-78, 101-13, Patterson, *Elijah, the Favored Man*; Reuss, *Geschichte*, 236 f.; W. R. Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*, 76-89, 116; Elliott, *O. T. Prophecy*, 125-32; Kittel, *Geschichte*, II, 226-30; Cornill *The Prophets of Israel*, 29-36; Milligan, *Elijah, his Life and Times*.

²Meyer, *Verhältniss der Erzählungen von Elisa zu denen von Elias, Berthold's Journal*, IV; Stanley, *Lects. on the Hist. of the Jewish Church*, II, 353-64; Lowrie, *The Prophet Elisha*; Ewald, *History of Israel*, IV, 78-101; Reuss, *Geschichte*, 237-40; W. R. Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*, 85, 87, 131, 208; Elliott, *O. T. Prophecy*, 132 f; Kittel, *Geschichte*, II, 237-40.

³Friedrichsen, *Kritische Uebersicht der verschiedenen Ansichten von dem Buche Jonas*;² Raleigh, *The Story of Jonah the Prophet*; Stanley, *Lects. on the Hist. of the Jewish Church*, II, 388-95; Cheyne, *Theol. Rev.*, 1877, 211-19; Kalisch, *Bible Studies*, II; Ewald, *Prophets of the O. T.*, II; *Hist. of Israel*, IV, 123, 128; Delitzsch, *Messianic Prophecies*, 58 f; Matheson, *Exp.*, III, 1882, 35-49; Perowne, *Obadiah and Jonah (Camb. Bible)*, 43-95; Pusey, *The Minor Prophets*, I, 371-94; Trumbull, *Jonah in Nineveh, Bib. Sac.*, 1892, 669-75; Lowe, *The Sign of Jonah, Thinker*, II, 1892, 486 f; Cheyne, *Exp.*, V, 1892, 227; Dale, *Exp.*, V, 1892, 1-18; Driver, *Introduction*,² 300-4; Kennedy, *On the Book of Jonah*.

⁴Cf. refs. in BIBLICAL WORLD, February 1896, 120.

⁵Cf. refs. in BIBLICAL WORLD, March 1896, 201.

3. The David stories.
4. The Solomon stories.
5. The Elijah stories.
6. The Elisha stories.
7. The national stories.
8. The E-stories.
9. The J-stories.
4. **DESCRIPTIVE PROPHECY.**^{1 2}
 1. The old prophet at Bethel, 1 Kings 13:11-32.
 2. The message to the widow of Zarephath, 1 Kings 17:10-16.
 3. Elijah's message to Ahab, 1 Kings 18:17-18.
 4. Elijah's appeal on Mt. Carmel, 1 Kings 18:19-40.
 5. The prophet's rebuke of Ahab, 1 Kings 20:35-42.
 6. Micaiah and the false prophets, 1 Kings 22:1-28.
 7. Elijah and Ahaziah, 2 Kings 1:1-18.
 8. The wickedness of Israel and the impending calamity, Amos 3, 4.
 - 1) The prophet justifies his mission (3:1-8).
 - 2) Outside nations testify against Israel (3:9-15).
 - 3) The voluptuous women of Samaria are responsible (4:1-3).
 - 4) Every effort has been made to reclaim Israel, but in vain (4:4-13).
 9. Israel's sins (Amos 5:4-12); special classes (5:13-24); idolatry (5:25-27); leaders (6:1-6).
 10. Hosea's charge of immorality and corruption, encouraged by Israel's leaders (4:1-19).
 11. Hosea's accusation against priest and court, rain coming (5:1-15).
 12. Hosea's complaint of the futility of fitful repentance, in view of constant transgression (6:1-11).
 13. Hosea's claim that Israel's degradation and decay are due, in large measure, to the ruling classes (7:1-16).
 14. Hosea: Israel's idolatry; the northern schism; destruction; foreign alliance (8:1-14).

¹ Passages in which the descriptive and predictive elements cannot easily be separated, have been classified as descriptive, when the predictive element seemed to be the less important.

² Cf. Comms. previously given *in loc.*

15. Hosea: Israel's unfaithfulness in view of Jacob's example (11:12-12:6).
16. Hosea: Israel's history a failure; idolatry must be rooted out (12:7-15).
17. Isaiah: the idolatry and luxury of his times (2:6-4:1).¹
18. Isaiah: the bad fruit; the judgments sent; the great judgment, Assyria; 5:1-25; 9:8-10:4; 5:26-30.

5. PREDICTIVE PROPHECY.²

1. The Judean prophet's prediction against the altar at Bethel, 1 Kings 13:1-9.
2. Ahijah's prediction against Jeroboam, 1 Kings 14:1-16.
3. Elijah's prediction of drought, 1 Kings 17:1.
4. The prediction concerning Hazael, Jehu and Elisha, 1 Kings 19:14-18.
5. Elijah's prediction of Ahab's ruin, 1 Kings 21:17-24.
6. Elisha's prediction concerning Moab, 2 Kings 3:1-27.
7. Elisha's prediction of Samaria's deliverer, 2 Kings 7:1, 2.
8. Elisha's prediction of Syria's defeat, 2 Kings 13:14-19.
9. Jonah's prediction concerning Nineveh, Jonah 1.
10. The impending destruction of Moab, Isa. 15, 16.
11. The predictions of Amos against Damascus, Gaza, Tyre, Edom, Ammon, Moab, Judah and Israel, Amos 1, 2.
12. Israel shall fall; no one escape; Assyria is coming, Amos 5:1-3; 6:8-14.
13. The visions of Amos, all of coming punishment (7:1-9; 10).
14. The promise of Amos, *restoration* (9:11-15).
15. Hosea's predictions of restoration in chapters 1-3.
16. Hosea's prediction of coming calamity, extermination, dispersion (9:1-17).

¹ On Isaiah, cf. Kitto, *Daily Bible Illustrations*, VI, *Isaiah and the Prophets*; Orelli, *The Prophecies of Isaiah*; Delitzsch, *Biblical Comm. on the Prophecies of Isaiah*, I; Giesebrecht, *Beiträge zur Jesaiakritik*; Reich, *Jesaias*; Nägelsbach, *The Prophet Isaiah (Lange)*; Rawlinson, *Isaiah I (Pulpit Comm.)*; and refs. in BIBLICAL WORLD, February 1896, 121.

² Passages in which the predictive and descriptive elements cannot easily be separated have been classified as predictive, when the descriptive element seemed to be the less important.

17. Hosea's prediction of Israel's punishment on account of her guilt (10:1-15).
18. Hosea's prediction of the sending away, and the restoration of the unruly son (11:1-11).
19. Hosea; idolatry means death; he shall die; he must perish (13:1-16).
20. Hosea's prediction of Israel's repentance and God's restoration (14:1-8).
21. Isaiah's prediction of the exaltation, the humiliation, and the future glory of Judah (2-4).
22. Isaiah's message in the inaugural vision (6).
23. Isaiah's predictions of destruction upon Syria and Northern Israel (7:1-8:21).
24. Isaiah's prediction of Immanuel and the Prince of Peace (7:17; 9:1-7).
25. Isaiah's prediction of destruction of Damascus (17:1-11).
26. Isaiah's prediction of the destruction of Samaria (28).
27. Micah's predictions concerning Samaria and Jerusalem (1-3).¹

6. THE PROPHETIC WORK.

1. In the North, under Elijah and Elisha.

1. At first coöperation of monarchy and prophetism.
2. The prophetic schools.
3. Growing antagonism, Elijah and Ahab.
4. The prophet supreme.
5. The results of the prophetic victory.

2. In the North, under Amos and Hosea.

1. Change of situation.
2. The prophet's view of the situation.
3. The methods employed.
4. The question of their relation to the past.

¹ Caspari, *Ueber Micha den Morasthiten*; Kuenen, *Theol. Tijds*, 1872, 45-66, 279-302; Cheyne, *Exp.*, II, 1881, 154-8; Hitzig, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten*, 189-238; W. R. Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*, 287-93; Cheyne, *Micah* (*Camb. Bible*); *Encyc. Brit.* XVI, 232 ff; Wildeboer, *De Profetie Micha*; Ryssel, *Untersuchungen über die Textgestalt und die Echtheit des Buches Micha*; Pont, *Micha-Studien*, *St. Kr.*, 1888, 235 ff., 1889, 436-53, 1892, 329-60; Kleinert, *Micah* (Lange, *The Minor Prophets*); Elhorst, *De Profetie van Micha*; Farrar, *The Minor Prophets*, 124-40; Cornill, *The Prophets of Israel*, 69 f.

3. In the South, before the times of Isaiah and Micah.

1. The entirely different situation in the South, as between the monarchy and prophetism.
2. The effect of this upon prophetism.

4. In the South, under Isaiah and Micah.

1. Prophetism incited by the formality of the ceremonial.
2. Prophetism incited by the corruption of the rulers.
3. Prophetism concerned with outside nations.
4. Prophetism concerned with Israel.
5. Prophetism concerned with home affairs.

7. SUMMARIES OF THE PERIOD.**1. Ideas concerning "Right living," "Worship," "Covenant."**

- 1) While the morality and general condition of the people may not have been worse, the remonstrances against the habits of the times are more frequent and severe. This points to the growth of a higher ideal.
- 2) The absence of reproof of the South in the earlier part of the period indicates either better life, or the inactivity of prophetism.
- 3) Much of the lower standard of morality may be attributed to the intermingling of Baalism with its corrupt forms of worship.
- 4) Foreign alliances, and even foreign contact, introduce much, besides idolatry, that leads to demoralization.
- 5) The immorality and corruption are found, not merely among the masses, but chiefly among the leaders.
- 6) The existence of only one true prophet (Elijah) and of so few true Jehovah-followers indicates the inroads made upon the old religion through the influence of heathen cults.
- 7) As indicated by the reproofs of Isaiah and Micah, every kind of corruption of life and thought has crept into Judah.
- 8) The ideal of life is to be just, to care for the orphan and the widow, to deal righteously.
- 9) Formality in worship has grown rapidly in both North and South, until now the antagonism of the prophets to the priestly order and work begins to be seen.

- 10) The priestly function, North and South, is in closest touch with the monarchy, and consequently the corruption of the latter extends itself to the former.
- 11) The covenant relationship of God and Israel is represented under the figures of "husband and wife," "father and son;" the relationship is one which neither infidelity nor disobedience will break.

2. Ideas concerning "God."

- 1) The idea of "God" in Northern Israel is largely affected by Phœnician and Syrian cults; monolatry seems to prevail even among the leaders; the use of images is authorized. The people do not give up "Jehovah" and adopt "Baal," but ascribe to "Jehovah" the attributes and characteristics of Baal.
- 2) The idea of Jehovah's jealousy is emphasized. Elijah preaches no kind of recognition of another God, although this involved political separation. Absolute allegiance to Jehovah is fought for.
- 3) The conception of a severely just God who punishes sin, brings terrible judgment upon all who disobey him, stands ready to destroy nation or individual who is hostile to him, is preached by Amos.
- 4) The conception of a living and beneficent God, pardoning sin, bestowing blessing even upon those who are faithless, whose love is so great that, notwithstanding apostasy, he still loves, is preached by Hosea.
- 5) The Pentateuchal stories describe a God who is moving in the affairs of the nations, guiding the beginnings of Israel's history, overruling evil for good, a God of ever-watchful providence.
- 6) In his inaugural vision Isaiah saw a God of supreme holiness, and every representation which he makes is colored with this idea. Indeed a new name now comes into use—"the faithful one of Israel."
- 7) For the first and only time seraphim are mentioned.

3. Ideas concerning "Man," "Sin," "Death."

- 1) The sin of Northern Israel presented in detail (immor-

ality, idolatry, foreign alliance, national schism) as the ground for present anxiety and future ruin.

- 2) Transgression, universal ; other nations to suffer destruction, but Israel and Judah particularly guilty in view of special opportunities for knowing the truth.
 - 3) Fitful repentance is of no avail in view of constant transgression.
 - 4) Disaster and calamity always to be attributed to sin.
 - 5) Death of the nation will be the result of the nation's sin.
4. Ideas concerning "Deliverance."
- 1) The land is to be visited with a severe judgment ; it will be laid waste ; ruin will prevail ; but afterwards it will be blessed and bring forth bounteous harvests.
 - 2) The people are to suffer attack, be carried into captivity because of apostasy—*humiliation* ; but will be restored again after repentance (remarriage of a wife, recall of a son, restoration from dead) to their land and be greatly prospered—exaltation.
 - 3) Jehovah will punish his people, but if they will return he will forgive them and restore to the place which they formerly occupied in his love, those who are faithful, that is, the *remnant*.
 - 4) The nations of the earth shall be destroyed in so far as they are hostile to Jehovah.
 - 5) A child will be born of the seed of David who shall fight Israel's battles, secure peace and the universal acknowledgment of Jehovah. This child appears again and again in the prophet's representation ; the fact that the birth does not take place as announced does not seem to disturb the prophet's faith that he will finally come.

REV. PROFESSOR WILLIAM HENRY GREEN, D.D., LL.D.

By the REV. GEORGE S. DUNCAN, PH.D.
Harrisburg, Penna.

THERE was a memorable gathering in the beautiful university town of Princeton, N. J., on May 5, 1896. From many parts of America came hundreds of pupils, friends and admirers to celebrate the jubilee of Rev. Professor William H. Green, D.D., LL.D., who for fifty years has been a teacher in Princeton Theological Seminary. A similar celebration was held at Princeton on April 24, 1872, when Dr. Charles Hodge completed his fiftieth year as a professor in the seminary. This famous school of the prophets has been fortunate in retaining many of its professors for long periods. Dr. Archibald Alexander taught for nearly forty years; Dr. Charles Hodge, for fifty-eight; Dr. Joseph A. Alexander, for twenty-seven; Dr. A. T. McGill, for thirty-five; Dr. Caspar Wistar Hodge, for thirty-one, and Dr. James C. Moffat for twenty-nine years.

It was eminently proper that the seminary authorities should arrange for celebrating in a fitting manner Dr. Green's fifty years of distinguished service at Princeton. The exercises were held in the beautiful Alexander Hall and were of a most interesting character. The following four addresses were delivered: (1) "Dr. Green's Services to the Seminary," by Rev. A. Gosman, D.D.; (2) "Dr. Green's Contribution to Biblical Criticism," by Rev. Professor C. M. Mead, Ph.D., LL.D.; (3) "Dr. Green's Contribution to Semitic Scholarship," by Rev. Professor J. F. McCurdy, Ph.D., LL.D.; and (4) "Dr. Green's Services to the Church," by Rev. President F. L. Patton, D.D., LL.D. Then followed six congratulatory addresses from (1) the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, by Rev. Dr. R. R. Booth; (2) our sister churches, by Rev. Professor Wm. M. McPheeters, D.D.; (3) our sister seminaries, by Rev. Professor W. J. Beecher, D.D.; (4) Dr. Green's alma mater, by President E. D. Warfield, LL.D.; (5) trustees of Princeton College, by H. M. Alexander, LL.D., and (6) from the Old Testament revision committee, by Rev. Professor Howard Osgood, D.D., LL.D. In the afternoon a reminiscence meeting was held in the Alexander Hall when short speeches referring to different periods of Dr. Green's career were delivered by Rev. Dr. W. C. Cattell, Rev. Dr. T. L. Cuyler, Rev. Dr. A. A. E. Taylor, Rev. Dr. E. H. Griffin, Rev. Dr. J. Fox, and Rev. Dr. Wm. M. Paxton. At the close of these exercises all went to Dr. Green's residence and offered the veteran professor their congratulations. The various colleges and theological schools of America had been invited, and many of these sent representatives. There was thus at

the jubilee an unusually large number of scholars of the first rank. Congratulatory letters were received from institutions in England, Scotland, Ireland, Germany, France, and other nations of the old world.

Dr. William Henry Green was born in Groveville, N. J., on January 27, 1825. He is a descendant of Rev. Jonathan Dickinson, D.D., first president of Princeton College and is connected with families who have been very prominent in church and state. Dr. Green graduated from Lafayette College at Easton, Penn., in 1840 with the highest honors and with a splendid record for linguistic attainments. His theological course was pursued in Princeton Seminary where he received his diploma in 1846. The seminary professors at this time were A. Alexander, D.D., LL.D., Charles Hodge, D.D., LL.D., S. Miller, D.D., LL.D., and J. A. Alexander, D.D., who filled the chair of Oriental and Biblical Literature, a department in which Dr. Green took an unusually high stand. Among his classmates at Princeton were the late Professor A. A. Hodge and Rev. Dr. T. L. Cuyler. Immediately in his graduation from the seminary in 1846 Dr. Green was elected an instructor of Hebrew. In 1851 he was chosen professor of Biblical and Oriental Literature and has held the chair ever since. Dr. Green has been a most inspiring and suggestive teacher and has ever impressed his pupils with high ideals of study. He has always expected of his students most thorough work and thus has formed in them intellectual habits of the highest value. Amid all their difficulties pupils have ever found in him a friend to help in every time of need. Besides his regular work in the lecture room Dr. Green has conducted seminars year by year where groups of students would pursue special lines of investigation. It is estimated that about three thousand pupils have sat at his feet.

When the American Committee of Revision was formed in 1871, Dr. Green was chosen president of the Old Testament company and did most important service in the work of revising the Old Testament. At the meeting of the general assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America, held in Pittsburg in 1891, Dr. Green was elected moderator. The degree of D.D. was conferred upon him in 1857 by Princeton College, and in 1884 by the University of Edinburgh. Rutgers College gave him the degree of LL.D. in 1873.

While Dr. Green has been for fifty years busily engaged in teaching, his pen has not been idle. He has written nine volumes which are well known on both sides of the Atlantic. His books in the order of their publication are as follows: (1) *Hebrew Grammar* (1st edition), 1861; (2) *Hebrew Chrestomathy*, 1863; (3) *Pentateuch Vindicated from the Aspersions of Bishop Colenso*, 1863; (4) *Elementary Hebrew Grammar* (1st edition), 1866; (5) *Argument of Book of Job*, 1874; (6) *Moses and the Prophets*, 1883; (7) *Hebrew Feasts*, 1885; (8) *Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch*, 1896; (9) *Unity of the Book of Genesis*, 1896. In the *Lange Bible Commentary* Dr. Green translated the "Song of Solomon," and added much new matter.

Besides these works he has written very many most scholarly articles, chiefly on Old Testament subjects, for the *Biblical Repertory*, *Princeton Review*, *Presbyterian Review*, *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, and *Hebraica*.

As is well known, Dr. Green takes a conservative position on questions of Old Testament higher criticism. There can be no doubt that he is today the foremost Hebrew scholar who holds the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch and the unity of Isaiah. It is perfectly safe to say that no one has stated the grounds for the conservative position in such a thorough, scholarly way as Dr. Green has done. He overlooks no important point and endeavors to meet each position of the newer view with fullness and fairness. Professor T. K. Cheyne says: "Tradition never had an abler advocate, setting aside Hengstenberg, and Pusey, than Dr. Green." Dr. Green has frequently been called the Hengstenberg of America. Whatever views one holds on the higher critical questions pertaining to the Old Testament, all must feel under lasting obligation to Dr. Green for presenting the most scholarly arguments which support the traditional views. Every student must fearlessly and fairly look at all sides of this as well as any other subject of investigation. Only by so doing can we reach truth and so prove all things, and hold fast to that which is good. In all his higher critical writings, Dr. Green hurls no hard names or bitter and unkind epithets upon those who differ widely from him. Such methods have been too common in biblical scholarly discussions of the past, but are happily less common now. No critic must dip his pen in sulphuric acid.

In private life Dr. Green is a most lovable Christian gentleman, and one of the humblest of men. His beautiful well-rounded and well-balanced Christian character has been an epistle known and read by thousands of men. *Servus in coelum redeat.*

THE BIBLE IN YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIETIES.

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PRIMARILY, the young people's society seeks to promote the culture of the Christian life. The study of literature, the development of the social life of the church, the consideration of economic questions, philanthropic activities, are all important but subordinate functions of an organization composed of followers of Jesus Christ, and intent upon the development, in themselves and others, of the life of their Lord. It has long ago been clearly shown however, that spiritual growth is not begotten of spiritual contortions. No amount of introspection, spiritual self-flagellation, or "spiritual exercises" of whatever kind, will result in begetting a character like that of Jesus Christ. The helps by which we attain to the full stature of Christian men and women will be found in the relations established between ourselves and others; between ourselves and the book which contains a record of God's revelation of himself to man. The great increase in the power and efficiency of our Christian young people within the last fifteen years is largely due to the recognition of this fact. The time was when, in a majority of our churches, the young had little to do except listen. They were taught in the Sunday school, a few of them attended the preaching service; but in the manifold activities of the church they had little or no part. They were constantly told what they ought to do, and then given no opportunity to act upon their instruction. But a great and happy change has taken place. The young people of today by means of efficient organization are brought into vital relations with God's work in the world, and give evidence of that growth in Christian manhood and womanhood which is produced only by a keen sense of personal responsibility. Possibly in some instances too much dependence is placed upon machinery, and activity may be mistaken for labor. A few of our young people seem to think that when they have constructed a vast and complex organization, nothing remains for them to do but to stand back and watch it go. Now and then some one becomes possessed of the idea that gesticulation and fume and fuss take the place of intelligent, conscientious toil. But these evils tend to correct themselves, and the good results from organization greatly outweigh the injury wrought.

Those familiar with young people's societies in our churches cannot fail to be impressed with the fact that the Bible does not fill a very large place in the life of these organizations. No doubt there are gratifying exceptions to this statement. Isolated cases may be found where, through the influence of

a thoughtful pastor or some other wise leader, the society gives patient, persistent and intelligent consideration to the Scriptures. In all the societies it is customary to read selections from the Bible at the beginning of the meeting, and sometimes references are given out and different members each read a selection. The subject under consideration for the evening is usually one supposed to be drawn from some passage of Scripture. When we have said this, has not about all been said that can truthfully be credited to Bible study in the average society? It is not claimed that these services are valueless. No gathering of those who love God and meet to consider their duty to him and to each other can be without profit. The prayers offered, the testimonies given, the songs sung tend to encourage Christian hearts and develop Christian character. Many young Christians find in these services inspiration and quickening. But, helpful as they are, would not these meetings prove a greater source of profit if not study of God's word should be added to prayer and testimony? We say study, not simply reading. No doubt something is gained by the reading of the Bible, especially if it is not done in a perfunctory manner. But the profit is small compared with that which comes to the earnest, careful student. Our religion has its roots in the Bible. We learn there how Christianity came to be, and how we ought to live in order to meet the requirements of the founder of our faith. As nowhere else, we find here the expression of God's thought concerning his children, and here is recorded his dealings with them. It has been said that Christianity would not perish if the Bible should be destroyed and all knowledge of it be lost. This may be true; but it would soon come to pass that Christianity would be even more defective, as expressed in life, than it now is, and men would increasingly substitute their own speculations and wild guesses for the expressed will of God. Christianity has always been purest and most potent when it has been least under the sway of human traditions and most observant of the teaching of God's word.

Studiousness does not imply a knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, and familiarity with these languages does not always stand for continued study. There is large satisfaction and much gain in being able to read the Old and New Testaments in the originals; but such ability is the possession of the few, and is by no means a condition to intelligent and profitable study. Study, not equipment, is the great characteristic of the student, and the man of limited scholastic attainments who works hard, will eventually outstrip the one who fails to use the power which long training has given him. It ought not to be forgotten that the student of the English Bible has, in our day, no lack of helps. The revised version throws light upon obscure passages. Literal translations may be obtained at small cost. The literature which treats of the Bible is already very large and is rapidly increasing. It requires only a small outlay of money to supply oneself with the results of the most profound study by men of the highest scholarship. Indeed, there is danger lest our helps become a hindrance; danger that Christians who ought to investigate

for themselves, personally search the Bible for its teachings, be satisfied to receive the assertions of others, and so do their studying by proxy only. This danger has been realized in Sunday school work, and the wisest friends of the Sunday school are seeking to bring about a return of Bible study, Quarterlies and leaflets and notes do so abound that not a few teachers and a great multitude of scholars have practically laid the Bible aside, and content



ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST

themselves with considering what someone has to say about the passage in hand. If our young people's societies ever come to enter upon Bible study, strenuous efforts ought to be put forth by pastors to guard against this evil.

When the careful study of the Bible comes to be recognized as a legitimate and important function of the young people's society, we may expect to find among this class in our churches a truer conception of the Christian life. Without undertaking to say where the responsibility lies, it cannot be denied that very many of our young people—and of our older people as well—have very crude and defective ideas as to what it means to be a Christian. They have been taught that they should give their hearts to God, be baptized, unite with the church. Not a few fancy that membership in the visible church is

equivalent to citizenship in the kingdom of heaven. They are possessed by a feeling of security because they have met certain outward requirements. This sense of security is greatly increased if they have passed through a season of spiritual depression followed by a corresponding exaltation. A past experience, a past obedience to a ceremonial requirement, a present mechanical relation to an ecclesiastical organization, takes the place of present and constant love for God and men, and the exhibition of righteousness in daily conduct. A careful study of the teaching of Jesus would lead to a readjustment of emphasis. Those who understand the divine teacher will never come to consider any act of obedience as unimportant, but they will come to realize that he placed strongest stress upon that love which goes upward to God and outward to our fellows, and that the absence of this affection cannot be met by any substitute. Increasingly, as we come to know the mind of Christ, do we see that the religious life cannot be compassed by the services of any church. The Christianity which leads us to the house of God, to fervent prayers, to ample testimonies, to exultant song, is defective and vain if it does not also find expression in the house, upon the street, in the place of business. The men who join energetically in the worship of Sunday, and then cheat their neighbors in the business of Monday, the women whose faces shine with a pious light in the church, and scowl, in the home for the remainder of the week, have yet to learn what Jesus Christ taught, or if they know the theory, have yet to embody it in life. The probability is that these people have never given any considerable time to the consideration of the life of Jesus as their example, or the words of Jesus as furnishing law for conduct. Not infrequently we meet with those whose specialty is the quotation of scripture texts. They have searched the Bible, not to find what it teaches, but to gather material for buttressing their favorite dogmas. Passages of scripture are wrenched out of their setting, twisted to mean something entirely foreign to their real meaning, and forced to do duty as clubs with which to batter the heads of theological opponents. Strangely enough, the men who do this violence to the Bible and the laws of biblical interpretation, often secure a reputation for possessing a superior article of piety while guilty of constant infractions of the Golden Rule. They even pose as Bible students, because they have collated the passages having a real or alleged bearing upon some article of the faith. Gathering proof texts no more constitutes one a student of the Bible than familiarity with half a dozen passages from *King Lear* makes one a student of Shakespeare.

Dr. Van Dyke in his Yale lectures styles this an age of doubt. Thoughtful study of the Bible on the part of our young people would act both as a corrective and preventive of this doubt. To be sure, another remedy is proposed, and as the recommendation comes from those who hold honored positions in the Christian church, it deserves candid consideration. "Do not think, simply believe," is the exhortation of certain godly men who sincerely seek the reign of God on earth. Their argument is that God has done the thinking

for humanity, at least so far as religious questions are concerned, and all that remains for us to do is to accept the divine thought. Possibly it does not occur to these friends that thought is necessary in order to perceive thought. How are we to arrive at a knowledge of God's thought without exercising our personal powers of investigation? It would be satisfactory to these gentlemen, no doubt, if the world would allow them to decide what God thinks and what he has declared, and accept their dictum as the end of all controversy. Fortunately for the preservation of the world from imbecility, a portion of humanity insists upon using its God-given power of thinking. There is no present danger from the over-exertion of this faculty of our being. A large number will always prefer to deal in ready-made ideas. It saves a vast amount of trouble. But is not the admission that Christian belief and thoughtful investigation are in essential antagonism, both humiliating and dangerous? It is pleading guilty to the charge constantly urged against Christianity by its enemies. The admission is of immense harm to the Christian religion because it tends to prejudice against Christianity men who do think and will continue to think. They reasonably claim the right to test the validity of the claims put forward by Christianity. Worthy belief, according to their conception, does not hang in the air without foundation, but rests upon well established facts. In order that these facts may be known and verified, investigation is essential. This investigation cannot be done by one or two for all men and all time. The belief that is vital and full of power is never hereditary, but is wrought out in the individual life by personal toil. Far too much have the young people of our churches had their thinking concerning religious matters done for them. When, with maturer years, they found themselves confronted with unfamiliar questions, when with the broadening of intelligence they began to ponder upon the great problems of life and of destiny, they proved to be all unfitted for the strain which came upon their faith, and so lapsed into unbelief. There is no question concerning God, man, the present, the future, but should be thoughtfully considered by our young people. No method of consideration is so wise and so helpful as that which employs the Bible as revealing God to man, man to himself, making plain present duty, throwing light upon the shadows which hide the future.

Possibly that which has been said will seem by far too general, and found to contain little that hints at ways and means of securing a larger and more careful study of the Bible. The purpose of this article is not to outline methods, but rather to indicate the need. Our young people are active in many ways, and every lover of our faith rejoices in the advancement in young people's work which the recent years have witnessed. But in the multiplication of societies and conventions, in the effort to increase membership, in the expenditure of time and strength in the multitudinous activities of this busy age, it should be remembered that lack of knowledge concerning the book of books must mean circumscribed spiritual growth and limited usefulness to the cause of Christ.

Work and Workers.

THE "SBLE" AT NEW HAVEN.

By W M. H. COBB,
Boston.

THESE initials, as many readers of the BIBLICAL WORLD are aware, stand for the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, which is composed of about two hundred American scholars in both Old and New Testament departments. Its organ, the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, is becoming familiar in the still more condensed abbreviation, *JBL*.

The society is sixteen years old. Its meetings, at which papers are offered and discussed, are usually held in June and December; from these papers selections are made for the *Journal*, which publishes nothing but original matter.

The number present at the meetings varies from fifteen to fifty, the latter limit having been reached only once, when exceptional attractions were presented. But if we look in on one of these small gatherings, for example, the recent one at New Haven (June 4 and 5), we shall be disposed to weigh rather than count the personnel of the assembly. The president of the society, Professor Francis Brown, of Union Seminary, is reading the annual address, which gives us glimpses along the front line of biblical research during the year.

Professor Thayer, of Harvard, reports progress from a committee (appointed in accordance with the suggestion of his presidential address a year ago), that has in contemplation no less bold an enterprise than the establishment of an American School for Oriental Study and Research in Palestine; a project already warmly endorsed by the American Oriental Society.

Papers were offered at this meeting by Professors Hincks and Moore, of Andover; Dr. Ward, of the *Independent*; Professor Lyon, of Harvard; Dr. Peters, of New York; Professor Beecher, of Auburn, and several others. The younger members, as well as the leaders, had a place on the programme. Some of the topics treated related to critical suggestions, which were presented with the aid of the blackboard; others were more general; for example, "Christ's Use of the Old Testament," "The Vocabulary of Sacrifice." While nearly all present took part in the discussions, Professors C. A. Briggs, J. H. Thayer, and B. W. Bacon were among the foremost critics; it is easy to infer that specious novelties, and antiquated fallacies, would find scant hospitality.

The writer recalls a single instance—years ago—when such a novelty, being broached at a meeting of the society, was met with a sharp question or two, followed by the exclamation, “nothing in it!” which effectually buried that notion.

At the New Haven meeting, Professor Driver and George Adam Smith were elected honorary members, a position which had been accepted previously by Ellicott, Cheyne, Sanday, Weiss, Godet, Schrader, and others.

THE third edition of Professor Sanday's Bampton Lectures on *Inspiration* has been issued by Longmans. An appendix has been added containing a sermon by Dr. Sanday treating of Ex. 34:6, 7, the early Old Testament conception of God as infinitely righteous and infinitely merciful. The new edition is announced at a reduced price.

THE chair of New Testament Interpretation and Criticism at Yale Divinity School has been filled by the appointment to that position of Benjamin Wisner Bacon, a pastor at Oswego, N. Y., and the author of two volumes, the *Genesis of Genesis*, and the *Triple Tradition of the Exodus*, setting forth the analyst's view of the early Old Testament literature.

DR. E. A. ABBOTT has completed his elaborate work on the Gospels, written for the new Biblical Encyclopædia edited by Sutherland Black. It was originally intended to make this Encyclopædia one large volume, but it is doubtful whether this will be possible. Dr. Abbott has devoted the most extraordinary labor to the preparation of this work, which will undoubtedly be recognized as a contribution to the subject of momentous interest and importance. It will probably appear in fuller form with notes as a separate book.

DURING the past five years the British and Foreign Bible Society have published the Bible in fifty-two versions and dialects, which, added to the work of the society in previous years, makes in all three hundred and eighty-one languages and dialects in which the whole or portions of the Bible are now in use for evangelization. All but thirty-eight of these translations were made within the present century. The American Bible Society has been instrumental in publishing or circulating about one hundred of the whole number.

A VALUABLE map of the present environs of Jerusalem is published by Baron Schick in the last number of the German Palestine Society's *Journal*. It is based on the ordnance survey of Captain C. W. Wilson, and represents the suburbs of that city precisely as they were in the fall of 1895. The same number contains a full list of the Palestine literature of 1894, prepared by Dr. Benzinger; a dissent by Socin from Anderlind's previously published opinion that Solomon's horses were imported from Spain; and an interesting

set of plans, charts, and maps of Palestine, prepared by travelers from the seventh to the sixteenth centuries.

THE "Bible Israelites" are a new sect of Jews who have appeared in Russia in the provinces of Ekaterinoslav and Kerson. The *Independent* thus indicates their position: They "look upon the New Testament as containing the authoritative utterances of a divinely appointed prophet, and while refusing to bestow on Jesus Christ the title of Messiah, or Son of God, they fully admit that his New Testament is a newer and a better revelation than anything contained in the Old." They "pledge themselves to meet regularly, and at stated intervals, for the study of the Scriptures. They no longer consider as binding those points of Judaic ceremonial and law which, although put forward as special features of the Old Covenant are as specially abrogated in the New by the teaching and example of Jesus."

PROFESSOR JOHN M. TYLER, of Amherst College, has issued an attractive work with the title *The Whence and the Whither of Man* (Scribner's, \$1.75). In it he discusses the position of man in creation and those deep questions of life and immortality with which we are all concerned. As the author "takes for granted the probable truth of the theory of evolution as stated by Mr. Darwin, and that it applies to man as really as to any lower animal," his profound Christian faith gives to the book something of an appearance of a defense of Christian truth by a scientist. It is a worthy successor in the Morse Lectures to Principal *Fairbairn's Place of Christ in Modern Theology*. One definition is worthy to be preserved: "Christianity is the contagion of a divine life" (p. 192).

A SERIES of Sunday evening lectures upon "Stumbling Blocks; or, Difficulties of Thoughtful Minds in Bible History and Doctrine," is being given in Chicago by the Rev. P. S. Henson, D.D., pastor of the First Baptist Church of this city. The subjects are as follows: "The Story of Creation," "The Story of Adam," "The Story of Eve," "The Story of the Fall," "The Story of the Flood," "The Story of the Sacrifice of Isaac," "The Story of Scripture Savagery," "The Story of the Sins of the Saints," "The Story of Joshua and the Sun," "The Story of Balaam's Ass," "The Story of Jonah and the Fish," "The Doctrine of the Miraculous Conception," "The Doctrine of Regeneration," "The Doctrine of the Blood," "The Doctrine of the Devil," "The Doctrine of Hell," "The Doctrine of the Resurrection."

AN article upon Recent Literature on the Apocrypha appears in the *Expository Times* for April. Bissell's *Commentary on the Apocrypha* in the Lange series of commentaries (Scribners) is given the highest place, followed by the two volumes on the *Apocrypha* edited by Dr. Wace in the *Speaker's Commentary* (Murray). Other smaller works of value named are Churton's *Uncanonical and Apocryphal Scriptures* (Whittaker) and Deane's *Book of Wisdom* (Macmillan). The variorum edition of the Apocrypha by Mr. Ball

is commended. For translations, the one now to supersede all others is that recently published (Macmillan) by the Company of Revisers who gave us in 1881 the present revision of the New Testament and in 1885 the present revision of the Old Testament. It is "the best edition and most lucid explanation of the Apocrypha ever published, marks an epoch in the history of the Apocrypha, and deserves all the recognition we can give it."

A SMALL book entitled *Studies in the New Testament*, by Professor R. M. Smith, Ph. D. (Nashville, Tenn.: M. E. Pub. House. 163 pp., 75 c.), aims to give some very elemental information to the new student of the Greek Testament concerning why he should read the original, some characteristics of Greek as compared with English, and some explanations of proper names and general terms which occur in the New Testament. The explanations are often useful and good, although sometimes they are incorrect. Most of them would be found in a good commentary and lexicon. To this portion of the book is added a collection of allusions to the Old and New Testament history which the writer has gathered from Herodotus, Strabo, Josephus, and Tacitus; also some remarks upon helps to the study of the Greek Testament; and finally, three appendices, one of them a chart of New Testament events and dates. The author has thus gathered together miscellaneous results of his investigations and teaching which would be of some use to beginners in Bible study, but which contain nothing new, and make no contribution either of fact or arrangement to the subject described by the title of the book.

THOMAS BAILEY SAUNDERS has translated an address of Harnack before the Evangelical Union of Berlin upon *Christianity and History* (Macmillan & Co.). This is an apologetic lecture, not upon the changes which Christianity has undergone nor upon the influence which it has exerted, but upon the difficulty suggested by the possibility of union between the eternal and the historical. Harnack with vigor and fervor defends Christianity—or the Ritschlean Conception of Christianity against three serious assaults. "Grant that Jesus was an incomparable person, still he lived many centuries ago, and it is therefore impossible to reach him with our sorrows and our needs, and lay hold of him as the rock of our life." The third objection should be especially noticed: "You may talk about Jesus as you like," Harnack supposes the objector to say, "and he may have been all you declare, but you have no certainty of this, because historical criticism has obliterated his picture in part and made it uncertain in part." Harnack calls this attack the most serious of all. He says, as he is wont to say, that the virgin birth and the resurrection must be surrendered. And even "the picture of his life, his words and teachings, appear completely transformed by historical investigation." But he still holds that "the heart of Christ's manifestations and the sense of his teachings" are untouched by criticism. His great contention is that the certainty—of faith must rest where its content is—rest upon God the Lord and confidence in Jesus Christ, and not upon miracles or any exter-

nal proofs or authority. The lecture is a suggestive and characteristic production of the great teachers and merits careful reading by friend or foe.

THE February and March numbers of the *Expository Times* contain an article descriptive of the person and work of Professor W. Sanday, D.D., LL.D., of Oxford University. The writer is J. Vernon Bartlett, M.A., of Mansfield College, Oxford. Dr. Sanday is fifty-three years old, and is recognized as one of the ablest and most influential New Testament scholars in Great Britain. His first publication was in 1872, on the *Authorship and Historical Character of the Fourth Gospel*. This was followed in 1876 by *The Gospels in the Second Century*. In 1883 he wrote brief commentaries on Galatians and Romans for Ellicott's *Commentary for Schools*. In 1891 he published nine lectures under the title *The Oracles of God*. In 1893 his Bampton Lectures on *Inspiration* appeared, and in the same year he contributed the article upon the *Gospels* to the revised edition of Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*. Last year, 1895, he, with the collaboration of Mr. Headlam, of Oxford, furnished the first New Testament volume to the International Critical Commentary, the volume on *Romans*. Dr. Sanday has also been one of the largest and best contributors to the *Expositor* for a number of years, his chief articles being upon the Gospels. These writings are esteemed by all biblical scholars as occupying the front rank in biblical literature. The five elements which Mr. Bartlett names as characterizing Dr. Sanday's work, and which give him and his writings so wide and strong an influence, are: Scientific method, sobriety of judgment, width of erudition, exactitude of scholarship, and lucidity of style. These qualities, singly and in combination, make him the worthy successor of Bishop Lightfoot and Dr. Hort.

Notes and Opinions.

The Conclusions of Mark's and John's Gospels.—In a recent pamphlet Dr. Paul Rohrbach, of Berlin, discusses the origin of Mark 16:9-20 and John 21. His theory is that John 21, in an earlier form which had fewer Johannine elements, was the original ending of Mark's Gospel, but that it was dropped off at an early date because of certain disagreements with the Johannine tradition as to certain resurrection appearances of Christ. The present ending was made up for Mark's Gospel in the second century from reports of Mark's pupils and of the presbyter Aristion. All four of the Gospels were given their present form by a school of presbyters in Asia Minor in the first half of the second century.

The Bible of Josephus.—Under this title, but in German, has appeared a careful study by Adam Mez of the quotations from the Old Testament books Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, used by Josephus in his *Antiquities*, bks. v-vii. His purpose was to discover whether Josephus used a Hebrew or a Greek version of these books, and if a Greek version, which one of the several possible ones. The *Independent* gives the following summary of his conclusions: "In the book of Joshua he cites according to the Hebrew text, while in the books of Samuel he departs from the Hebrew but does not adopt the reading of the Alexandrine or the Vatican, but rather the so-called Lucian text, even where this blunders, sometimes even misunderstanding these readings. In regard to Judges, the matter is not so clear; but here, too, the probabilities are that he follows the Lucian text. Mez agrees with the conclusions reached by others, namely, that the *Vetus Latinus* often agrees with the Lucian readings, and in many cases with the Peshitto. Then, too, the author is convinced that the basis or original source of the Lucian text is considerably older than Lucian. And this original Lucian text he also regards as having been used by Theodotion, which relation explains the fact that so many readings which as such are known to be Theodotion's are earlier found in the New Testament. Professor Schürer, in discussing these results, admits that some of the data in question may admit of a different interpretation, but evidently regards the whole as substantially correct."

The Bearing of Inaccuracies upon the Value of the Bible.—After discussing the Septuagint Version in its relation to the text and interpretation of the Old Testament, Professor Kirkpatrick, of Cambridge, in the *Expositor* for April, asks: "What inference is to be drawn from the facts (1) that on the one hand even the Hebrew text of the Old Testament has not been preserved intact and free from error, and (2) that on the other hand the Old Testament

was only known to and used by the Christian Church for centuries in a form so strikingly divergent from the *Hebraica veritas*? That the provision of an infallible text of the Bible and the provision of an authoritative and inerrant interpretation of it were not part of God's purpose. These matters, which lay within the province of man, were left to men. Scribes and translators are liable to err, and they erred. They made mistakes, as they did in the case of secular books. No divine providence preserved them from error, either in transcribing or in translating. Yet, in spite of all the errors of the LXX, in spite of the marvelous methods of interpretation founded upon those errors, the Book, the Library of Books, fulfilled its purpose. The LXX was truly a divinely provided translation of the Old Testament. Here was a voice of God speaking to men as a living oracle, as no other books spoke or could speak; witnessing to the action of the living God in the affairs of men, testifying to his righteousness, his truth, his holiness. The Spirit spoke, though he spoke through the lips of men, as it were in stammering accents and often unintelligible words. On the whole the *regula fidei*, the tradition of Christian doctrine, kept men's minds in the right direction amid all the strange intricacies and vagaries of allegorical interpretation; and much true and noble and elevating spiritual thought is to be found even where it fails as argument because it lacks solid foundation.

"Need we be startled if the 'higher criticism' discloses to us that something analogous was the case in regard to the original composition of the Scriptures? if we are compelled to recognize that the human elements of personality, time, locality, are larger than we once supposed? Holy men of old spake indeed as they were moved by the Holy Ghost; but they spake not only in the language, but according to the modes of thought of their times. Need we be dismayed if modern investigation tells us that they composed their histories according to the methods of Oriental historiography, compiling, combining, altering, modifying, the works of their predecessors? Need we be shocked if we find reason to believe that they employed allegory as the vehicle of teaching because it was the regular mode of instruction, the only mode available for a people to whom abstract thought was unnatural, the only mode capable of lasting for all time, and speaking with force to young and old, learned and unlearned alike? Need we be alarmed if we find that works were written in the name of illustrious persons of a bygone age with the intention of expressing their thoughts, real or supposed? Need we be troubled if it be proved that the scribes amplified and edited the work of previous generations with a freedom which amazes us? God speaks through, nay, even in spite of, the imperfections of his human instruments, and his word 'effectually worketh in those who believe.'"

Synopses of Important Articles.

THE CHIEF LAMA OF HIMIS ON THE ALLEGED "UNKNOWN LIFE OF CHRIST." By J. Archibald Douglas, with a postscript by MAX MÜLLER. *Nineteenth Century*, April 1896.

I was a resident in Madras during last year, but removed to the North-west Provinces in the early part of the present year, and traveled the route of M. Notovitch, and spent considerable time as a guest at the Himis Monastery, into which M. Notovitch with such difficulty gained entrance, and where he alleged he was received by my host, the Chief Lama (or Abbot). My opinion on the general accuracy of M. Notovitch was held in abeyance, although the remarkable stories of his adventures with wild beasts seemed improbable in a region where good authorities claim them to have been impossible.

It is probable that M. Notovitch was at the hospital, where he was treated, not for a broken leg, but for toothache.

The following statements in M. Notovitch's book are contradicted by the Chief Superior of Himis Monastery, and sealed with his official seal. It should be added that this venerable man, who is held in esteem by both Buddhists and Europeans, was indignant at the travesties of his character by M. Notovitch, and wished to know if there were not some means of punishing him for such untruth. His denials were made to definite questions, and are as follows: No European ever was in the monastery with a broken leg. There is no such book as a Life of Issa in the monastery; nor, although for forty-two years a Lama, do I know of any book or manuscript that mentions the name of Issa; nor do I know any Lama who knows of such a book. I know nothing of the Egyptians, Assyrians, Israelites, and never talked with any gentleman about them. I know of no Buddhist writings in the Pâli language. [Evidently the Lama did not know the meaning of "Pâli."] I never received the presents alleged by M. Notovitch to have been given me by himself. The Buddhists know nothing of the name of Issa, and none of the Lamas ever heard it except through missionaries and European sources.

These denials were confirmed by inquiries put to the monks, and denials were obtained from the other Lamas mentioned by M. Notovitch. Evidently the work of M. Notovitch is a fiction, and an attempt to pervert Christianity.

To this article Max Müller adds a postscript, in which he apologizes for his suggestion that M. Notovitch may have been hoaxed by Buddhist monks. That gentleman, he declares, was not hoaxed, but he tried to hoax us.

And so another lie is nailed after having passed through eleven editions in French.
S. M.

THE PECULIARITY, ORIGIN AND REVEALED CHARACTER OF JESUS' TEACHING. By PROFESSOR WILLIBALD BEYSCHLAG, D.D., in his recently translated work *New Testament Theology*, Vol. I., pp. 31-38.

The universally pictorial style of Jesus' doctrine is conditioned not merely by a necessity of teaching, but rather springs chiefly from the nature of the things to be communicated. These are just the eternal truths, the heavenly things in earthly speech, which can only be brought home to the popular understanding by pictorial forms. It is, therefore, the mother speech of religion which Jesus uses. And he uses the speech with a purity and perfection that make his mode of communication quite incomparable. He rarely has recourse to argument or means of proof, because what he says is self-evident to the reason and conscience of the sincere man. His word is, therefore, in the highest sense testimony, viz., testimony to the divine which lives and moves in him. "Verily, I say unto you," is the constant expression of an inward certainty which can count on the willing or unwilling inward assent of his hearers. He does not even in any formal way teach the religion which lives in him. Its moral deductions are taught as in the Sermon on the Mount, or its conditions and ways of operation as in the parables. The thing itself he merely expresses, nay, still more presupposes than expresses. Three characteristic features distinguish the religion of Jesus from, and raise it above, all that it otherwise called religion in the world. (1) The religion of Jesus is a religion for the world, for universal man. It has no national limitations, it makes all men neighbors, and makes no distinction between them before God. It is further, a religion of the spirit, a religion of inwardness and freedom. It does not bind to sacred places and times, it knows no sacrifices or ceremonies, no forms or formulæ as in themselves pleasing to God. Nothing is of value in it but the pure heart, the love of God, and what that love calls forth in the heart of man. And yet it is capable of the most vigorous outward expression. (2) It is the perfectly moral and morally perfect religion. Everything in it has its ethical side, its moral fruits, without which it is of no value in the sight of God; while over and above every outward and particular deed of obedience, it claims the whole inward man for God and his commandments. From the same idea of God as the absolutely Good One, out of which springs the absolute demand, "Be ye perfect, even as the Father in heaven is perfect," arises, at the same time, the glad message of his unlimited fatherly mercy which goes in search of the lost son and meets him with forgiveness. (3) The gospel of Jesus is the religion of eternal life. It restores man to his lost eternal home, makes him at home as no other faith can in the invisible world of perfection which his soul craves, and thereby lifts him above the imperfections of his earthly existence. It consecrates this earth as a vestibule of heaven, and its sufferings as a school of eternal life.

If this is the peculiarity of the religious teaching of Jesus, there can hardly be any reasonable doubt about its origin. It bears throughout the

impress of the highest originality, of originating immediately in his own inner life; but it does so, not in the sense of being the outcome of his subjective fancy—in that case it would be the most insoluble of psychological and historical riddles—but as an immediate gift to his soul from above, a revelation of God in him and through him. That at least is the consciousness which he himself had of his doctrine (Matt. 11:27; John 7:16). In point of fact it is impossible, often as the attempt has been made, to deduce the consciousness of Jesus and the contents of his teaching from any spiritual power which existed in his day. Even the Jewish religion in which he was born and trained is no key to his own. There is no need for wasting words in seeking to prove the depth of the contrast which existed between Jesus and Pharisaism, a contrast which excludes any original affinity or sympathy. Nor is there any affinity of spirit between Jesus and the other well-known types of current Judaism, namely Sadduceism and Essenism. There is just as little trace of Alexandrianism in him.

This brings us to the real mystery of the personality of Jesus which forms the salient point of his whole teaching, and which explains and confirms on all sides its peculiarities as described above. He was conscious of being in a unique sense the Son of God, and out of this grew his consciousness of being the Saviour, and his sense of a vocation to help his brethren to a similar communion with God. It is impossible to resolve all that enduring ground-consciousness of his into a fanatical dream, it must be firmly founded on the truth, on a fact which not merely lets him have a revelation, but makes himself a personal revelation of God. The character of his teaching directly furnishes a twofold proof of the truth of that self-consciousness. (1) As compared with the Old Testament prophets, upon whom the divine inspiration came in specially elevated moments, as a power half foreign, Jesus knows no difference between hours of inspiration and ordinary hours. The spring of divine revelation wells up in him quietly and constantly, not while he is exalted above himself, but while simply himself and giving himself. It is the eternal foundation of his personal life from which his words of eternal life at all times flow. (2) He is not merely, like Moses, the prophet of his religion; he himself is its living content and basis, as his person supports, guarantees, indeed first makes possible his entire teaching. If communion with God, "the kingdom of God," had not been personally realized in him, his whole proclamation of it would have been destitute both of truth and meaning. Then we comprehend how all the great characteristics of his teaching, emphasized above, are nothing else than the natural manifestations of his personal consciousness, the simple issues of the fact of his unique and ideally perfect relation to God. Because he has the pure heart of the perfect child of God, he is able to see the Father in heaven as no prophet before him and no apostle after him; he throws upon the whole earthly life the transfiguring light of eternity.

THE BIBLE AND THE CHILD. THE HIGHER CRITICISM AND THE TEACHING OF THE YOUNG. By DEAN F. W. FARRAR, D.D., in *The Outlook*, March 21, 1896, pp. 508-510.

The question as to the right way of presenting the Bible to the young in the light of the higher criticism is a real and important one. There are three widely divergent ways, each equally dangerous to the faith of the rising generation: (1) By denouncing the new views of the Bible. Parents and teachers may go on inculcating dogmas about the Bible and methods of dealing with it which have long since become impossible to those who have really tried to follow the manifold discoveries of modern inquiry with perfectly open and unbiased minds. There are a certain number of persons who, when their minds have become stereotyped in foregone conclusions, are simply incapable of grasping new truths. They become obstructives, and not infrequently bigoted and furious obstructives. They have made themselves incapable of fair and rational examination of the truths which they impugn. They think that they can, by mere assertion, overthrow results arrived at by the life-long research of the ablest scholars, while they have not given a day's serious or impartial study to them. But a study of the past shows us that it has been one of the chief duties of each age in succession to cast off the slough of old ignorance. The advance of knowledge is a direct work of God's revealing power. This is certain, that if children are still taught to regard as articles of their religious belief opinions about the inerrancy, universal equal sacredness, verbal dictation, or supernatural infallibility of all that is contained between the covers of the sixty-six books which we call the Bible, the faith of those children, if they develop any intelligent capacity or openness of mind hereafter, is destined to undergo a rude and wholly needless shock, in which it will be fortunate if much of their religion does not go by the board. (2) By misrepresenting the new views of the Bible. Ignorant and incompetent controversialists talk as if the higher criticism had robbed the Bible of all value, and had shown it to be a mass of falsity and imposture. It requires some knowledge of language, of literature, of history, of national idiosyncracies, to be even capable of estimating the real nature of a result arrived at. Ignorant and irreverent attempts to discredit and vilify the Bible are even more egregiously illiterate than the idle super-exaltation which would turn it into a fetish. (3) By silently ignoring the new views of the Bible. This however, is not so easy, and at the best it is but the ostrich policy which tries to bury its head in the sand in order to escape its pursuers. If children are left unaware that the views of those most competent to represent their generation are widely different from those which were all but universal in the days of their grandfathers, the discovery will certainly come to them later on, and may come so suddenly as to imperil their faith.

Parents and teachers should speak without any subterfuge and with per-

fect plainness. We should be profoundly and unswervingly *truthful*. We ought never to practice that *falsitas dispersatura*, that "economy of truth," which has often been an avowed principle of action in the Church of Rome. Truth is too sacred a thing to admit of manipulations or juggling. Traditionalism, or professionalism, or self-interest should never for a moment be suffered to obscure our sense of its eternal obligation. We are not bound to teach children all we know, but we are most solemnly bound not to teach them anything which we feel to be doubtful as though it were certain, and still more are we bound not to teach them anything of which we ourselves begin to suspect the reality. And further, into a vast part of our teaching, by far the largest and most important part of it, no question of the higher criticism enters at all. The object of the best and most sacred Bible teaching is to form the character, not to store the intellect. It is moral, it is spiritual; it has to do with things eternal; it far transcends all minor questions of the date or historicity of the books in which it is enshrined.

More attention should be given the subject here discussed. The fact of the matter is, the young are those to whom the better view of the Bible which this century has worked out appeals most strongly. To those in middle life who have become fixed in traditional ideas of the Bible the modifications of view are quite apt to seem unnecessary and undesirable. It is to the younger men and women in our colleges and homes, who have gained nineteenth century views of history, literature, philosophy, the natural and social sciences, that the better view of the Bible comes as an emancipation. The traditional bottles are too small and fragile to hold the greater knowledge and thought of the present century. And to all who feel the unscientific nature, the incongruity, and unsatisfactoriness of certain features of the traditional view of the Bible, the better view should be given as quickly and as fully as possible. More than that, we make a great mistake if we imagine that the thinking boy or girl of ten years old cannot understand and appreciate the essential elements in the modified view of the Bible which has been worked out during the last two generations. Why is it that people welcome progress in everything but religion, while there they demand stagnation?

C. W. V.

Book Reviews.

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Mark.
[International Critical Commentary Series.] By EZRA P. GOULD, S.T.D.,
Professor of the New Testament Literature and Language, Divinity
School of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Philadelphia. New York:
Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1896. Pp. lviii, 317. Price, \$3.00.

In the matter of thorough, scholarly, up-to-date commentaries the gospels are the most neglected portion of the New Testament. Germany has the works of Holtzmann, Weiss and Weiss-Meyer upon some or all of the gospels, which somewhat supply their lack; but England and America are struggling along with no first-class modern commentaries upon the gospels. The best we have is an old translation of Meyer's on the four gospels, and of Godet's on Luke and John, with Broadus's on Matthew and Morison's on Matthew and Mark, all out of date or of but secondary value; and a host of small commentaries good enough in their way, but entirely inadequate and without the basis of a thorough, up-to-date criticism of the gospels. This unfortunate condition of things is due to the fact that the whole problem of the origin of the four gospels and their relation to each other has been undergoing reconsideration in the light of modern historical methods and knowledge, and the reconstructed view has not been up to this time fully agreed upon. Perhaps it is yet too early to say with certainty what the reconstructed view will be, though there seems to be sufficient agreement with reference to the most important features of the problem. We therefore have reason to think that the great lack can be in a few years supplied.

The editors and aims of the International Critical Commentary series, and the three volumes of the series which have already appeared, have awakened the expectation that the commentaries upon the gospels therewith announced will meet our need. The volume upon Mark has just been published, that upon Luke by Dr. Plummer is in the press; those upon Matthew and John have not yet been assigned. There is opportunity for making them the two greatest and most influential books on the Bible for a generation; that they may realize their possibilities is devoutly to be wished.

The Gospel of Mark, while in comparison of less importance than Matthew or John, nevertheless presents a great opportunity for the commentator. Dr. Gould has in a large measure seen and fulfilled this opportunity. He has undoubtedly given us a commentary on Mark which surpasses all others, a thing which we have reason to expect will be true in the case of every volume of the series to which it belongs.

The introduction contains a brief discussion of the synoptic problem, of the characteristics of Mark, and an analysis of events; a statement of the person and principles of Jesus in Mark; a discussion of the gospels in the second century; a review of recent literature, and a statement of the sources of the text. The synoptic (Dr. Gould prefers the longer form "synoptical") gospels are regarded as showing both interdependence and independence. In general, their contents and arrangement are the same. This similarity is to be explained as the effect of oral tradition, which must have been in Aramaic. But the verbal resemblances between the gospels cannot have been due to oral tradition, because oral tradition does not tend to fix language to the extent which here appears, and because verbal resemblances disappear in translation, so that the verbal resemblances of the Greek gospels must be the result of dependence of the written accounts upon each other. One would wish to ask at this point for the evidence that the oral tradition was in Aramaic *only*; some of it was, in Judea, as the *Logia* were in that language, and as it would naturally tend to stay in the language in which it was given. But for the benefit and use of Hellenistic Christians, and even of Gentile Christians, some of whom came into the church before the period of oral tradition passed, there would be likely to be an oral tradition in Greek, to which would be due a portion of the verbal agreements and variations which are present in the gospels. The author regards it as sufficiently settled that there are two original sources of the synoptics, one of which is the translation into Greek of Matthew's *Logia* (not our present first gospel), containing discourses of Christ, and the other our present Gospel of Mark. Mark prepared his gospel from the memorabilia of Peter, plus some material from the *Logia*. His aim is to present only the active public life of Jesus so that the gospel seems curtailed when it closes (at verse 8) without a record of the resurrection appearances of Christ, but that was the way in which Mark left it. The present close of the gospel (verses 9-20) was attached at a later time to round out the work. The detailed and vivid descriptions which characterize this gospel come from Peter as the source of the Mark material. From the eschatological discourse it would appear that the date of the gospel was about 70 A.D., before the destruction of Jerusalem.

With reference to the gospels in the second century, after an excellent discussion of the subject, Dr. Gould concludes (1) that the second century literature certainly uses extra-canonical sources of information about our Lord, and does it freely and without apology; (2) that the four gospels were the main stream to which the rest was tributary,—the standard writings on the subject; (3) that they were not Scripture in the sense which we attach to that word,—they were not separated from other writings by any such line; (4) that the amount and importance of extra-canonical matter is after all small. Substantially, the Jesus of the second century literature is the Jesus of the gospels. These conclusions we believe to be in accordance with the facts.

The recent critical literature upon Mark which has received the writer's attention are the works of Meyer to whom he gives first place ; of Weiss, whom he wisely criticises in some particulars ; of Beyschlag, whose *Leben Jesu* he highly commends ; of Holtzmann, whose one blemish is the repudiation of the miraculous, and whose views in this respect are repeatedly controverted throughout the commentary, and briefly, of Orello Cone and James Morison. These are the scholars whose researches and opinions are the foundation of Dr. Gould's work, to which he has added not a little that is his own. The grammatical authorities to which he constantly refers are Thayer's *Lexicon*, Winer's *Grammar* and Burton's *Moods and Tenses*. It is singular that Buttmann's *Grammar* is never mentioned, nor Cremer's *Lexicon*, nor Wendt's *Lehre Jesu* ; can the work have been prepared without any reference to them ? The text used is an independent one, but is substantially that of Westcott and Hort and Tischendorf's Eighth.

The commentary proper is carried out in the admirable way planned by the editors of the series. The condensed paraphrases which stand at the head of the sections have been prepared with great care and skill, and deserve special commendation. The paragraphs of explanation of the history and the interrelations of the sections of material are lucid and informing, and the comments upon words and phrases, verse by verse, are in the main highly satisfactory. There is very little reference to varying opinions of interpretation ; the view of the author is presented as concisely and explicitly as possible. Archæological notes appear from time to time, but a strange omission is the absence of any remark as to the location of Golgotha. The notes of textual criticism which, in small type, follow the comment upon each verse, are very useful ; it is certainly the best possible arrangement for this material. The footnotes pertain mostly to the linguistic features of the material, and add greatly to the value of the work. Then, finally, there are special topics which receive here and there extended treatment. The orderly system according to which are grouped these several elements which go to make up a perfect commentary marks a distinct advance upon previous works of this sort, and increases greatly the service which the book can render.

Space hardly permits a review of Dr. Gould's interpretation of individual difficult passages. Generally he has given the interpretation which the latest and best study of the gospels presents ; but sometimes one is disappointed. He has not taken sufficient note of the parallel readings in the other gospels which differ from Mark, *e. g.*, Mark 1 : 38 = Luke 4 : 43 (p. 29). No mention is made of the different Johannine position of the cleansing of the temple. The parallelism of amount between Judas' thirty shekels and those of Ex. 21 : 32 and Zech. 11 : 12 he remarks as "curious" (p. 260), but this does not lead to any suggested explanation of the coincidence. In speaking of the Last Supper he says (p. 265) : "the gospels do not give us any command for the repetition of the supper, nor for its continuance as a church institution," a

statement which called for further comment. In Mark 14:41 (p. 271) he translates "sleep on now, and rest," without considering the recently strongly advocated reading "so then sleep on and rest." In speaking of the trial of Jesus before the Sanhedrin (Dr. Gould prefers *Sanhedrim*), he says (p. 283): "It is evident that their formal procedure had been the night before . . . this morning meeting was an informal gathering to decide on a plan of action before Pilate . . . This is the reverse of Jewish legal process." Is it likely that the Jewish legal process would have been reversed in this case? At Mark 15:11, when the multitude is stirred up to cry for Barabbas as against Jesus, the author says (p. 286): "This was the first time in the life of Jesus that the people had turned against him." A statement quite clearly wrong, for while Mark does not as explicitly as John (ch. 6) indicate the defection of the Galileans from Jesus, it is manifest from Mark, chs. 7, 8, 9, that Jesus had found it impossible to work longer in Galilee, and was journeying north and east in retirement, so that the popular crisis which John records would appear historical. At Mark 15:34 he would read, not "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" but "why hast thou left me helpless?" which "interpreted in the spirit of the original, of the withholding of the divine help, so that his enemies had their will of him, it falls in with the prayer in Gethsemane;" an interpretation which, if true to the meaning of the Aramaic word, would be welcome.

The topical discussions, also, can only be touched upon. The miracles of the gospels are defended individually and at length (pp. 34, 86, 99, 119, 122, 149-151). The title "Son of God" is regarded as Messianic, but with an official not a metaphysical sense (pp. 3, 4, 12, 56). The title "Son of Man" was Messianic, but Jesus chose it to express and emphasize his brotherhood with man. Demoniical possession he is inclined to regard as an unscientific explanation of common phenomena (pp. 23, 92). The records of Jesus' predictions as to his death and resurrection have been given a definiteness, in view of the event, which they did not at all have when first given, else the disciples would not have stumbled so at the crucifixion and wondered so at the resurrection (pp. 153, 197). Jesus did not present himself explicitly as the Messiah to the apostles until the transfiguration period, and not publicly until the triumphal entry (xxix., 50, 205, 209). In the eschatological discourse the view is taken (pp. 240-253, cf. p. 159) that the coming of the Son of Man predicted in the second part of the discourse did take place within that generation, in connection with the destruction of Jerusalem; that the apocalyptic accompaniments are to be understood as entirely figurative; and that the definite inauguration of the universal kingdom took place at that coming. One infers that the author thinks of no coming of the Son of Man other than, or at least different from, that one in connection with the destruction of Jerusalem. Upon the discussion of these points it is not possible here to enter.

The volume has good indices. A number of errors of typography and

some defects of style have been noted. The worst feature of the book, artistically considered, is that the paper on which it is printed is blotting-paper, on which it is impossible to use ink for making marginal notes. We must express regret, too, that the author did not avail himself of one hundred more pages of space, which would only then have brought his volume up to the size of Sanday's *Romans*, and would have made the work vastly better. There was great opportunity for a more detailed introduction, and for much more material in the commentary proper.

But Dr. Gould's *Commentary on Mark* is a large success, worthy to stand in the series to which it belongs, and a credit to American scholarship. It does not supersede other commentaries upon Mark for the reason that it is in no sense a thesaurus of investigation, interpretation and opinion with reference to the gospel. But it will be much more useful than any other single commentary on the book.

C. W. V.

The Critical Handbook of the Greek New Testament. By EDWARD C. MITCHELL, D.D. New and enlarged edition. New York, Harper & Bros. 1896, pp. 13+270. Price \$2.50.

The first edition of this work was published at Andover about fifteen years ago. The present edition though retaining the general plan of the former one has been so much enlarged as to constitute practically a new work. Part I is entitled Authenticity of the New Testament Scriptures; Part II, History of the Canon of the New Testament; Part III, History of the Text of the New Testament, while an appendix occupying ten pages more than the body of the book, contains thirteen valuable charts and tables.

Part I conveys in its 64 pages much valuable information clearly stated so far as the individual items are concerned. Its value, however, is much diminished by an apparent uncertainty on the writer's part as to the purpose which it was to serve. The variously used term authenticity is not defined, and the author seems himself to waver in his understanding of the now advancing evidence of the early origin of New Testament Scriptures, which would tend to prove the genuineness of the books now endeavoring to prove the early origin of Christianity, and thus apparently to show that the record is authentic. Much of the evidence might, of course, be used for either purpose, but the relation of the two themes is nowhere clearly stated. The treatment of the History of the Canon is very brief, occupying but 12 pages.

Part III occupying but 40 pages is necessarily a very condensed discussion of its subject, but is clear and informing. Its title, however, is hardly correct. It deals rather with the material for textual criticism of the New Testament and the method of such criticism than with the history of the text.

The Tables and Diagrams which constitute the second part of the volume will be very useful to the careful student of the Greek New Testament, chiefly indeed to a scholar, who no longer needs the body of the book, yet in some

degree also for the less advanced student. They bring together in convenient form for reference a large amount of information concerning the manuscripts of the New Testament and other authorities for the text and canon of the New Testament. While most of this information is to be found in books already published it is here tabulated in convenient form, and there are added some parts not previously published. American scholars will be especially grateful for the information, much of it new, concerning biblical manuscripts in America. If through the attention thus directed to the matter other such manuscripts shall be brought to light, especially if others shall be purchased for American libraries all New Testament scholars shall rejoice with Dr. Mitchell in this outcome of his labors.

Taken all together and despite the defects mentioned above the volume will be a very useful one to theological students, to busy ministers, and to laymen who, without being technical scholars, in exegesis or criticism, wish to know in a broad way what evidence there is that the books of the New Testament come from the first century and relate historical facts, and that the text possessed by us today is substantially the original text. The appendix contains much detailed information valuable to technical scholars, some of it not obtainable elsewhere.

The printers and binders have done their work admirably, and the proof-reading seems nearly perfect; a breathing omitted from a Greek word on p. 44 is the only slip we have noticed. Omissions and errors of a graver sort in a work involving so much detail could scarcely be escaped altogether, but could be detected only by a very minute examination by an expert authority. Two things the present writer may venture to note. On p. 42 the paragraph on the Ignatian letter gives the impression that sober scholarship accepts only the three letters of the Syrian text. But reference should certainly be made to the opinion of Zahn and Harnack, and especially to the great work of Light foot which, since its publication in 1885, has been very generally regarded as ending the controversy and establishing the genuineness of the seven letters in the shorter Greek form. The note on p. 248 is slightly inaccurate. The manuscript belonging to The University of Chicago, was *purchased through* Professor Caspar René Gregory. Would not *A Critical Handbook*, etc., have been as appropriate a title as *The Critical Handbook*? C. D. B.

A Life of Christ for Young People in Questions and Answers. By MARY HASTINGS FOOTE. New York: Harper & Bros., 1895. 12mo., pp. xvi+281.

The subject is presented in 1839 questions with their answers arranged in sixty-one chapters; the contents and index and the good mechanical work give the book an appearance of neatness and convenience. The author well says in her preface: "The simple facts of Christ's life, if studied and intimately known, are more convincing and elevating than pages of so-called 'applications.'" That the method presented is the best adapted to securing

such a mastery of these facts by youthful minds is less certain. Efficient as the catechism has proved in teaching dogma and much as we may regret the tendency to abandon it, both reason and experience seem to be against the success of teaching history by question and answer. The parts of a picture are severed, the charm of the narrative broken, and the sequence and association of events, memory's greatest aid, largely lost. It is likely that with the same amount and quality of instruction far better results will be obtained from the use of the gospels themselves accompanied by some such book as Blackall's *Stories about Jesus*.

As for the execution of the author's task, one can but think that in several respects it might have been better. There is a tendency to be too certain about uncertain things; *e. g.*, the method of Christ's temptation, the efficiency of John's baptism, the considerations in the Divine mind in selecting Palestine as the birthplace of the Saviour. Difficult and technical terms are frequently introduced without explanation and sometimes unnecessarily, such as "hippodrome," "procurator," "excommunicated," "felicity." The selection of material is occasionally out of proportion; *e. g.*, the Sadducees are dismissed with two small questions, while a page and a half are given to the Essenes. But more serious is the lack of historical accuracy. For instance, to the question, "Does he (John) often mention himself in his own narrative?" The answer is assigned: "No, only twice —" and the occasions of 1:37 ff. and 19:26 f. are mentioned. It would be difficult to imagine how the author managed to overlook 13:23 ff.; 18:15 ff.; 20:2 ff.; 21:2, 7, 20, 24. The book will doubtless be helpful to some, but, all things considered, it is not likely to prove a great success.

J. S. T.

The Wise Men of Ancient Israel and Their Proverbs, by CHARLES FOSTER KENT, PH.D., Associate Professor of Biblical Literature and History, Brown University. Silver, Burdett & Co., New York, Boston, Chicago, 1895. 12 mo.; pp. 208.

The central purpose of this volume is a scientific classification of the Proverbs of the book of that name on the basis of their thought. But as an acquaintance with the aims and methods of "the Wise" who produced them is considered a prerequisite to their intelligent study, several chapters of "Introductory Studies" precede the classification.

"The Hebrew Wise" are considered as a class in their relation to the other orders of Hebrew teachers and in their influence upon Israelitish history which is represented as much greater than is commonly supposed. The different types of Wisdom Literature as appearing in isolated passages throughout the Old Testament, as well as in what is technically known as the Wisdom Literature, are discussed and exemplified. Under "Proverbs and Proverb Making" the philosophical basis of this form of literature is presented. The fourth chapter is devoted to the consideration of the structure,

authorship, and date of the several divisions of our canonical Book of Proverbs. The Solomonic authorship of any section in its present form is denied, but it is maintained that many of the sayings of the "wisest man" have been preserved in connection with the product of later sages. The superscription of chapters 25-29 is accepted as authentic, and the preëxilic origin of all except the two final appendices is convincingly argued.

The need of a logical rearrangement of the proverbs is plain to every one. The manner in which moral maxims, rules for the management of business and the government of a state or the family, observations on the character of Jehovah, the nature of man, the relations of the different classes of society, the usages of courts of justice and scores of other subjects are thrown together without any apparent order is very confusing and precludes any definite impression on the mind of the cursory reader, at least. It is not to be expected that any one could rearrange this medley so as to meet the views of all in detail, but the author has evidently done his work with great care and the new form is much more readable and intelligible than the order, or want of it, to which we have been accustomed.

The classification is followed by two "Supplementary Studies" on "The Social Teachings" and on "The Use by Jesus of the Book of Proverbs" which are suggestive. The book closes with an index by which any proverb may be found in its new setting.

C. E. C.

The Jewish Scriptures. The Books of the Old Testament in the Light of Their Origin and History. By AMOS KIDDER FISKE. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1896, pp. 390. \$1.50.

The writer declares that the purpose of this volume is "to present the history and literature of the ancient Hebrews, as contained in the Old Testament, in a clear, concise, and candid way, applying the benefit of the light revealed by modern research and learning, and applying the same calm judgment to which we are accustomed in dealing with the productions of other ancient peoples." In the carrying out of this task, he divides his work into two parts: (1) The "Background of the Jewish Scriptures," under which he covers in a series of thirty-eight chapters the outlines of Jewish history down to the time of the Maccabees; and (2) the "Books of the Old Testament," in which the books are handled separately, mainly in the order, the Hexateuch, historical books, prophetic books, wisdom literature. For the accomplishment of so important a piece of work as is laid out in this volume there are two qualities of mind, at least one of which is essential. These are accuracy and sympathy. The writer should be able either to present the facts of the material with which he deals according to the latest and most trustworthy investigations, or he should possess and reveal such an interest in his subject, such an insight born of love for the men and the events he discusses, that the reader is willing to condone the lack of absolute or even

tolerable accuracy with respect to the facts. Unfortunately our author possesses neither of these desirable qualities. He frankly admits that he has made no first-hand researches, but depends upon the observation, for his own enlightenment, of the results of the studies of the great scholars of Europe upon the subject. So open and honest a declaration calls for our admiration and would not detract from the usefulness of the work, provided that the writer has succeeded in making a wise selection of the results of other men's investigations. It is enough to say that Mr. Fiske seems to have confined his studies to the works of one great scholar, the French savant Ernest Renan, and he is almost a slavish copyist. The chronology, the criticism, the religious point of view, the historical judgment are all those of Renan, with the exception that where the Frenchman moves cautiously and speaks tentatively, our writer shows no hesitation, no doubt, removes every "perhaps" and "probably," and states the wildest and most improbable hypotheses of the brilliant Frenchman as absolute and unquestioned results of research. He does not seem to know that Renan is the weakest of scholars in the historical criticism of the Old Testament; he does not seem to know that no one accepts Renan's theory of Israelitish religion. We could excuse this, if there was any warmth of sympathy or glow of appreciation for the history of this people and their literature, such as appears, for example, in the pages of our author's model. Renan was lacking in many things, but he did appreciate great achievements in history, and knew how to sympathize with the aspirations of the Hebrew people. In view of these facts it is not necessary to say that the book totally fails to accomplish the purpose the writer has in view. Reasonable views of the Old Testament will not be advanced by a work of this sort. It is just such books that drive men into the extremes of traditionalism. Biblical criticism may well plead in respect to this writer, "Save me from my friends."

G. S. G.

LITERARY NOTES.

The Gospel of Buddha is a new edition of the compend by Dr. Paul Carus, of the stories, teachings, fables, and creeds that Buddhism has produced in the course of its history. One can only repeat what was remarked before in the review of the first edition of this book in the BIBLICAL WORLD, that it is a pity such an opportunity to make a good book on this subject was lost. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co. Price, \$1.

FROM Fleming H. Revell Company (Chicago) comes the *Chart of the Public Life of Christ*, by C. J. Kephart (price 75 cents). This chart is based in the quadripaschal arrangement and indicates by circles, lines, and colors all of the important events of the gospels in their connection as well as the places of their occurrence. The chart is of that convenient size which allows its use either on the table or wall, and will prove a help to any student. It is

bound up with an "Outline of the Saviour's Public Life, with Scripture References" which has the virtue of not attempting to settle definitely unanswerable questions of chronology and harmony.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- Juda's Jewels.* 'A Study in the Hebrew Lyrics. Noah K. Davis, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor in the University of Virginia, Nashville, Tenn. (Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; Barbee and Smith, agents; 1895, pp. 352.) \$1.50.
- Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1892-3, Vol. I, containing Parts I and II; Vol. II, Part III. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1895.)
- Carpenter, W. Boyd.* Lectures on Preaching. (New York: Macmillan & Co., pp. 254.) \$1.50.
- Bishop of Ripon* and others. On Sermon Preparation. (New York: Macmillan & Co.; Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1896, pp. viii+230.) \$1.00.
- Noble, Frederick A.* The Divine Life in Man and other Sermons. (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1896, pp. 311.) \$1.25.
- Burgen, John William.* The Traditional Text of the Holy Gospels Vindicated and Established. (London: George Bell & Sons; New York: Macmillan & Co., 1896, pp. xx+317.) \$3.50.
- Sears, Lorenzo.* History of Oratory from the Age of Pericles to the Present Time. (Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co., pp. 440.)
- James Cardinal Gibbons.* The Faith of Our Fathers; 47th edition. (Baltimore: John Murphy & Co., 1895, pp. 477.)
- Lamb, Charles and Mary.* Tales from Shakespeare. (The Riverside Library.) (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., pp. xiv+306.)
- White, W. W.* Studies in the Gospel by John. (Fleming H. Revell & Co., pp. 130.) \$0.50.
- Power, P. B.* Pivot Words of Scripture. (Whittaker Library.) \$0.50.
- McKim, Randolph H.* Christ and Modern Unbelief. (Whittaker Library.) \$0.50.
- Bartlett, T. E.* The English Bible in American Eloquence. (Am. Bap. Pub. Soc.) \$0.10.
- Fisher, G. P.* History of Christian Doctrine. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons; Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1896, pp. xv+583.) \$2.50.
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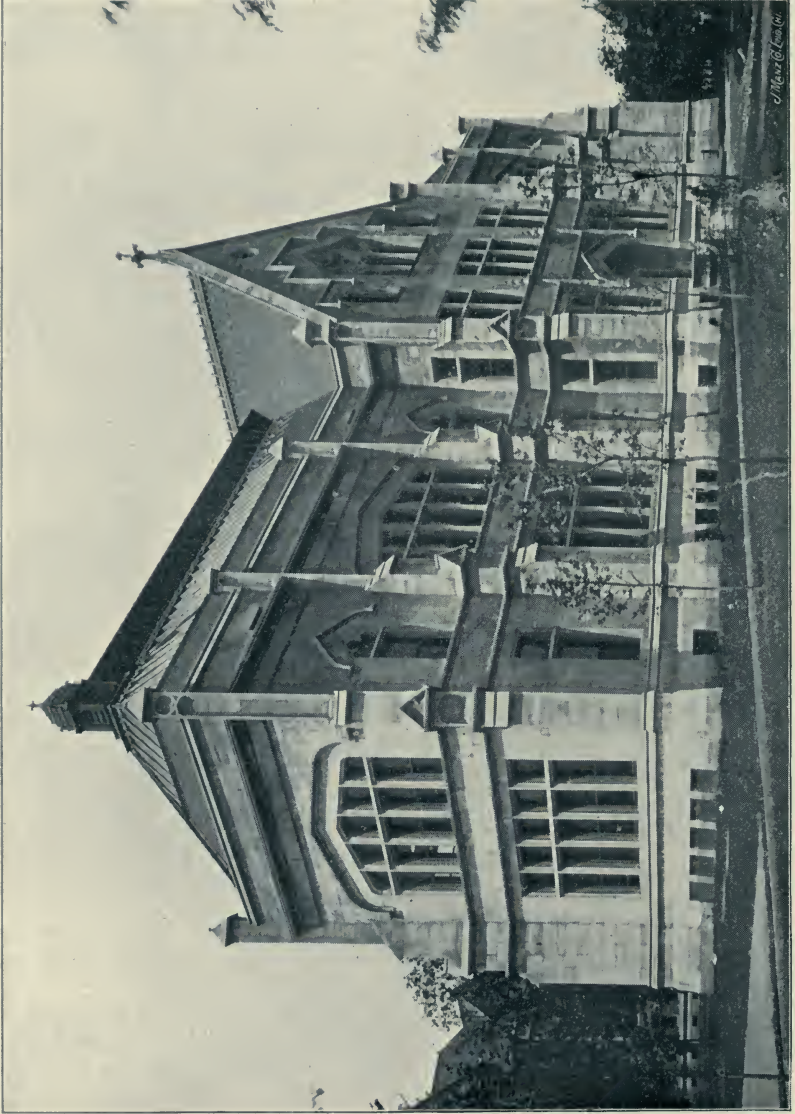
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THE HASKELL ORIENTAL MUSEUM

Mary C. L. L.

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

CONTINUING

The Old and New Testament Student

VOLUME VIII.

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NUMBER 2

THE HASKELL ORIENTAL MUSEUM OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE Haskell Oriental Museum is a fire-proof structure of three stories and basement, erected through the generosity of Mrs. Caroline E. Haskell, by a gift of \$100,000, as a memorial to her husband, Mr. Frederick Haskell. Besides the offices temporarily occupied for general purposes, and a large library room it contains a series of large and well-lighted rooms for the installation and exhibition of museum materials.

The collections occupy the second floor. They embrace the following:

THE BIBLICAL COLLECTION

Includes relief maps, wall maps and the materials furnished by the Palestine Exploration Fund; casts of the accessible monuments, like the Moabite stone, the Siloam inscription, the Greek tablet from the temple mountain, etc.; a complete series of over 900 oriental photographs of Palestine and countries of the eastern Mediterranean basin. As rapidly as possible all original material illustrative of oriental life, also coins and other antiquities will be collected and installed.

THE COMPARATIVE-RELIGION COLLECTION.

The Department of Comparative Religion has a large loan collection of cultus-implements illustrative of Japanese Shinto and Buddhism, and of Hinduism, made, during a long residence in the East, by Dr. E. Buckley, a docent in The University. The chief characteristic of the collection is its inclusion of the smaller cultus-implements, which are usually neglected in favor of more artistically effective idols. Such cultus-implements, especially those of folk-religion, are usually of quite insignificant intrinsic value, but can be secured only by visiting the temple or locality where they are in use, and are intelligible only to those familiar with the use made of them. These include phalloi, in great varieties, ktenes, shells, mandrakes, mirrors as sun-symbols, pails for water-cult, fuses for fire-cult, sacred • plants, spirit-boats, gods of luck, charms of many materials and applications, divining rods, sacred pictures, votive gifts, food-offerings, scriptures, prayers, and the like, to mention first the articles illustrative of Shinto, where idols are conspicuous by their absence, with the single exception of the above mentioned gods of luck, which form a group of mixed and modern origin. This Shinto collection is both complete and unique. The Musée Guimet at Paris, and the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford, contain only a few Shinto articles, while no other, except possibly the Leiden Museum, contains any at all.

To the Buddhist collection belong, besides articles similar to the above mentioned, the more familiar and artistic idols, in the production of which the Japanese are at present easily superior to all other peoples. The entire collection numbers about four hundred articles. Articles for exhibition have also been loaned by Mrs. Helen E. Bassett, by Mr. Martin A. Ryerson and by Dr. Paul Carus.

THE ASSYRIAN COLLECTION

Is made up of a fine series of casts, including the better known monuments of Assyria, chiefly from originals in the British Museum. The material is comprehensive enough for the student



NORTH MUSEUM

to learn the reading of texts from the monuments and tablets themselves, as well as to illustrate the principles of Assyrian art.

THE EGYPTIAN COLLECTION.

It embraces a very representative series of pottery and household utensils, and some alabasters; a perfect chessboard with the men; a good collection of matrices or moulds for ornaments and charms in faïence; talismans, gods, rings, pendants, etc., from Amarna. From the same place is a bas-relief study, in limestone, of the head of Amenhotep IV. Of funeral remains the collection contains five mummies, three in cases, two grave tablets; about sixty ushebtui, five wooden statues of Osiris, two of them finely painted; a good series of funeral furniture, consisting of several painted boxes or chests, a chair, etc.; also a large collection of mummied birds, cats, crocodiles, etc.; many smaller objects, not to be mentioned in a summary, some of them very fine. The above were collected in Egypt for The University by the assistant director during the winter of 1894-5.

Beside the above, through the kindness of Professor Petrie and the generosity of Mr. H. M. Kennard of London, the Museum has received a full series of the pottery, etc., of that remarkable people discovered by Mr. Petrie opposite Coptos, in the winter of 1894-5. It is expected also that material from Mr. Petrie's recent work in the vicinity of Thebes will be deposited in the Museum during the coming year.

A large series of casts, especially bas-reliefs from the old empire well represent the monumental materials in the foreign museums. Beside these, the Museum possesses a collection of photographs, nearly 1200 in number, illustrating Egypt and its remains still *in situ* as well as the chief antiquities of the museums of Gizeh, London, Paris, Florence and the Bibliothèque Nationale.

THE LAYING OF THE CORNER STONE OF THE HASKELL ORIENTAL MUSEUM.

THE corner stone of the Haskell Oriental Museum was laid on July 1, 1895, in connection with the exercises of the eleventh convocation of The University of Chicago. After the convocation address and the conferring of degrees, the procession was formed and proceeded to the site of the Museum. The President of The University made a brief statement, after which he laid the corner stone. Prayer was offered by the Reverend P. S. Henson, D.D. The corner-stone address was delivered by the Reverend Professor John Henry Barrows, D.D. The benediction was pronounced by the Reverend H. C. Herring.

THE STATEMENT.

By PRESIDENT W. R. HARPER,
The University of Chicago.

THE thought that today we lay the corner stone of the building which shall stand possibly for five centuries carries with it very much that is significant and inspiring.

The thought that the building has been given by a generous Christian woman in order to make possible the broader and deeper study of the world's sacred Scriptures, and especially those of Christianity, is still more significant and more inspiring. But most significant and most inspiring of all is the deep Christian faith and the generous Christian heart which prompted this magnificent gift for the cause of science and truth. May the significance and the inspiration of the deed impress the heart of every man and woman within the reach of my voice, of every man and woman who in the centuries that are coming shall look

upon this beautiful structure. May God bless this woman richly, and may he so order that the building, erected through her generous gift, shall richly bless the world.

THE ADDRESS.

By JOHN HENRY BARROWS,
The University of Chicago.

MR. PRESIDENT AND FRIENDS: I deem this a golden day in the history, not only of The University of Chicago, but also of the University life of America. This, I believe, is one of the first buildings dedicated exclusively to Oriental studies, those studies from which so much spiritual and intellectual light has come to mankind, and from which so much illumination is still further expected. As the three chief languages of the ancient world were employed to write on the Cross of Christ the inscription of his royalty, so the same three languages are used to inscribe on the corner stone of this building sentences which will be both inspiration and guidance to the scholars who, through coming centuries, shall pass in and out of this beautiful edifice.

Lux ex Oriente, Light from the East. It comes to us with every daybreak, awakening joy and hope, as the solar king flames in the forehead of the morning sky. From the East have come the world's religions, all of them native to Asia; from the East has come the Bible of humanity; in the East have risen the mighty prophets whose words are the life of our civilization. And with faces fronting the dawn, we still anticipate new sunbursts of truth, that light which never was on sea or land, which dwells in the souls of sages and saints, of apostles and martyrs, and of all devout seekers after the divine. On this corner stone is also inscribed a sentence from the Hebrew psalms in that venerable language wherein was written the chief part of the world's great Bible, "The entrance of Thy words giveth light." All of God's utterances deserve this eulogy. It was

enlightenment which came to Prince Siddartha beneath the Bo-tree; it was enlightenment which came to Saul at Damascus, the divine word entering into his soul in dazzling illumination. It was enlightenment which came to Socrates in the streets of Athens, through the divine-haunting Genius whom he questioned. It was enlightenment which the Persian worshipers sought and found on the eastern hill-tops brilliant with the banners of the morning. Preëminently it was enlightenment which came with the divine word to the souls of those Hebrew prophets who are ever urging us to walk in the light of the Eternal.

But on the third side of this corner stone is inscribed in Greek, the language of the highest and broadest culture, that word from the Prologue of the fourth gospel which says of the Logos, the Christ, "He was the true, or original, light, which, coming into the world, enlighteneth every man." The Christian faith which identifies the spiritual illumination of our race with that gracious manifestation of God, which came through his Son in the Incarnation, now irradiates those hopeful and earnest studies into Comparative Religion from which theology rightly expects so much. We believe that

"The word unto the prophet spoken
Was writ on tables yet unbroken;
The word by seers or sibyls told
In groves of oak or fanes of gold,
Still floats upon the morning wind
Still whispers to the willing mind;
One accent of the Holy Ghost
The heedless world has never lost."

And we who cherish the Christ, as he is revealed in the Scriptures, gratefully and reverently identify him with the universal manifestations of God's truth and love.

But light is only one of the great words which the spiritual eye may behold inscribed upon this building. We see there also Learning, Piety, Love, Hope. Hellenic and Egyptian studies, Hebrew, Assyrian, Babylonian, and Hindu literatures and records are to find their home within these walls. It is believed that the cause of true religion is to be the gainer by the faithful and rev-

erent work done here. And then the Haskell Oriental Museum is a memorial building, bearing the name of one of the worthiest citizens of Chicago, erected by the devoted wife, whose contributions to this University have been so noteworthy and whose sympathy with the higher and broader Christian movements and studies of our times is so active and intense. This is one of a group of buildings, of a memorial character, which indicate how worthily the far-sighted and generous-minded citizens of Chicago may commemorate their beloved dead. This University is an institution belonging to all classes and denominations of our people, which appeals to the higher intellectual and moral interests of the city, and also addresses that fruitful civic pride and hopeful enthusiasm to which we must look for many of the grandest results of the future.

I am glad that men and women of all denominations are cherishing the University and adding to its beneficent work. We praise the great-minded men of other ages that built the chief architectural monuments of Europe. Within the hallowed glooms of the Chartres Cathedral, Lowell sang:

"I look round on the windows, pride of France,
Each the bright gift of some mechanic guild,
Who loved their city and thought gold well spent
To make her beautiful with piety."

But both religion and learning and civic pride and the natural desire for a splendid earthly immortality are all appealing to the large-hearted and open-handed to continue this work of University building that shall make our city beautiful and illustrious to the ends of the earth and the limits of time. Some of you know that the architectural plans already determined provide for a collection of structures which, when completed, will make by far the most magnificent university pile on the continent. They will be harmonized under one general scheme, and they are of such quality and character, thanks to the wisdom and genius of the architect and to the lofty ideals of the President and Trustees of The University, as to be worthy monuments to the generous, famous, and honored makers of this great town. Very largely

they are to bear the names of those who have been associated with the growth of this imperial city. The beautiful structures which we see about us, bearing the names of Ryerson, Foster, Kelly, Beecher, Walker, Cobb, Kent, Snell, and Haskell, indicate the memorial character which The University's architecture has assumed. And still greater work is urgently demanded. The English universities have their towers and chapels and majestic libraries and sculptured gateways, and splendid windows, and sonorous bells sounding over the Merton meadows or along the stone and oaken bridges of the Cam. The famous King's Chapel of Cambridge on which the royal saint of England lavished his gold, that "immense and glorious work of fine intelligence,"

"‘Those lofty pillars,’ ‘that branching roof’
Self-poised and scooped into ten thousand cells,
Where light and shade repose, where music dwells
Lingering, and wandering on as loth to die;
Like thoughts whose very sweetness yielded proof
That they were born for immortality,”—

this glory of King's College, as Wordsworth felt and sang it,—why should it not be reproduced here in the heart of our western world and become, with the University Library building, the central and crowning glory of these gray quadrangles? Why will not some of our merchant princes, quite as worthy of honor as any chapel or cathedral builders of the Middle Age, seize this opportunity of a glorious immortality? I earnestly believe that our beloved University represents all that is highest in our city's life, and that it will do more than anything else to free us from reproach and to give our name, already honored as representing material masteries, a purer and more lasting lustre.

A century hence the Haskell Oriental Museum, now rising, will be surrounded by groups of academic buildings that shall repeat many of the glories so dear to Oxford. Two hundred years hence this University may be the crown of the world's metropolis, a seat of learning like that by the Isis, learning hal-
lowed by time and by sacred memories,

"The Past's incalculable hoard,
Mellowed by scutcheoned panes in cloisters old
Seclusions ivy-hushed, and pavements sweet
With immemorial lisp of musing feet."

We are pioneers of an immeasurable future, and the corner stone that is laid today is a milestone in human progress. All honor then to those who have so wisely planned and skilfully guided the development of this University! All blessings on the generous benefactress whose gracious hand lifts this splendid structure toward the sky! All hail to the glorious and imperial future, rich with the increasing spoils of learning and the multiplied triumphs of faith, of which the Oriental Museum is a sure and golden prophecy.

THE SERVICE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE EDUCATION OF THE RACE.¹

By REV. PROFESSOR GEORGE ADAM SMITH, D.D.,
Free Church College, Glasgow.

Need of this discussion.—The Old Testament in the primitive church.—Its influence since that time.—The use made of the prophetic writers in social reform.—In politics the Old Testament employed to serve the cause of liberty.—The Old Testament and Biblical criticism.—The conclusions of criticism in regard to it.—Criticism's contributions to a better understanding and use of the Old Testament.—A prediction of larger service for the Old Testament.

IN choosing a subject to present to you I have been guided by the desire for one that should prove of profit to an audience so widely and variously interested in education as this here gathered, and that at the same time should not take the speaker in directions in which he had no special knowledge. I have accordingly selected as my theme, "The part which the Old Testament has played in the education of the race, and how far its power to educate and inspire is affected by modern criticism." How much such a theme stands in need of statement will be acknowledged by all, and yet, had I stood here last year, I could not have imagined that need to be so deep as I now know it to be. Last December, in *The North American Review*, Professor Goldwin Smith published an article on the Old Testament entitled, "The Mill-Stone of Christianity," by which he meant that the Old Testament is nothing but dead-weight about the neck of the Christian religion. Professor Smith is one of the most cultured men of the day, and a devout one. He has the first of all qualities for appreciating his subject, and that is belief in the presence of divine elements within the Scriptures of the Hebrews. One cannot conceive of a mind or an equipment

¹ The Convocation Address delivered in the Quadrangles of The University of Chicago, July 1, 1896, in connection with the dedication of Haskell Oriental Museum.

or a position out of which it ought to have been more easy to discriminate the value of the Old Testament in the light of recent biblical criticism. Yet all this science of criticism, which is as old and well established as most of our physical sciences, Professor Goldwin Smith ignores, and in December last he published an article which would have been already out of date thirty years ago. He interprets the Old Testament on the most unscientific methods. He fails to put it in the perspective of that long, gradual growth which recent science has so impressively illustrated, and he is quite ignorant of the splendid apologetic for it furnished by the comparative history of the Semitic religions. It is a hard word to say of the work of such a man, but a more crude and unreasonable utterance upon the Old Testament has seldom issued from the press. Coming from the man it does come from it only makes more imperative the need of some public examination of how far the religious and educational capacity of the Old Testament has been affected for better or for worse by the research and criticism of our time.

At a very early period the Old Testament became part of the canonical Scriptures of our religion. This event, so momentous for civilization, so fraught with both good and evil, was due to a large number of causes. By the time of Our Lord, almost all the separate books had been received into the Jewish canon; they formed Our Lord's Bible, the Bible of his education and of his ministry. He grew out of the Old Testament and taught his disciples to recognize him in it. He repealed, indeed, some of its statutes, and rebuked many of its tempers; he added to it beyond all its own promises. But, on the other side, how much in it he took for granted, how much he enforced, how much he came to fulfil! He took for granted its fundamental doctrines of man and righteousness, of creation and providence, and of God's method of grace through Israel. He accepted its history as a preparation for himself, and drew from it many of the categories of his gospel; but, above all, he fed his own soul upon it, and expressly set himself to the fulfilment of its calls and ideals.

Accordingly, we find the Old Testament employed by his

disciples in all departments of their preaching, whether apologetic or ethical. Even those of the apostles who most emphasize the expiry of the old dispensation are ready to draw from its Scriptures proofs of the divine mission of Christ, with truths about creation and providence. Now, all this was not only for the Jew. The Gentile also needed a cosmogony and history of God's dealing with the race in harmony with the new faith which Christ had given him. He also needed proof for the argument that Jesus was the Christ. He discerned the spirituality of the Old Testament, finding that the prophets quickened his conscience and that the psalter uttered his experience. Thus, in Christian philosophy and in Christian worship, the place of the Old Testament was secure from the beginning, and that for reasons both logical and practical.

Among other proofs of how widely such motives extended the use of the Old Testament across early Christendom I may mention five: (1) The church evinced the same anxiety to determine the limits of the Old Testament canon as to determine those of the New. (2) There was the remarkable rejection of the Old Testament by so many of the heresies—a sure sign of its influence upon the Catholic church. (3) There was the frequent use of Old Testament character and narrative in popular preaching all over the church, from which we may infer, either as cause or effect, familiarity with the Old Testament on the part of the common people. (4) There was the remarkable influence of the Mosaic law on legislation and public morals, which began with Constantine, and from his time to Justinian's, according to authorities like Gibbon, purged social life and modified the law of the empire. (5) There was, later on, the readiness with which the young Christian nations of Europe found in the history of the Jewish people illustrations and inspiration for their own struggles for freedom.

It is along all these lines that the influence of the Old Testament has been sustained through the centuries to the present day. Of course it has suffered alike from the temporary fashions of exegesis and from the abiding sins of the preacher. Forgetful of the distinctions which Jesus himself had made

between the temporary and the eternal in the Old Testament, the pedant and the bigot imposed its ceremonial and political laws to the confusion of Christian simplicity and the exhaustion of Christian zeal; while the tyrant and the inquisitor claimed its relentlessness as sanction for their own cruelties to Christian and heathen alike.

Yet through all these ages true inspiration had been drawn from the Old Testament by real prophets who knew the spirituality and holy passion of the great examples of their order; by mystics to whose pure hearts the ancient pages glowed with visions of God; by experimental preachers who, moving through that rich old world of character, won insight, force and a breadth of field unattainable elsewhere; and by social reformers, to whose noble succession Europe owes an almost ceaseless application of the principles of Hebrew prophecy to the generations of her public life.

It is in this last direction, perhaps, that the influence of the Old Testament on civilization has been most conspicuous. From the time that the example of the Pentateuch affected Roman law and braced the rulers of the empire to grapple at least with the bestial sins, the Hebrew Scriptures, in Christian hands, have done their divine service in inspiring both the reprovers of public morals and the defenders of the rights of the common people. Take two instances. The greatest preacher of the East, Chrysostom, by expositions and homilies applied the Old Testament to the life of his day in the most practical spirit. Savonarola, besides reviving a simple gospel, was a great preacher of civic righteousness; and became so by his lectures on Amos, Micah and other prophets. From his day to our own there never was a European city or nation moved to higher ideals of justice and the commonweal without the reawakening of those ancient voices which declared to Jacob his sin and to Israel his transgression. Remember how much of Puritan preaching—of the most sane and practical Puritan preaching—was drawn from the Old Testament. Take the earlier Puritans like Henry Smith, with his "Scripture for Magistrates" and his "Memento for Magistrates;" or the later

Puritans like Goodwin, whose sermons to the House of Commons and on public occasions were nearly always from Old Testament texts; or Cromwell himself, who took those texts from which to enforce order and pure liberty and the truth that God was guiding England as much as he had ever guided Israel; or the revival of this kind of preaching, adapted to modern life, by Kingsley and Maurice—Maurice, who has had more social influence in England than any preacher of this century, and who, to use his own words, counted “paramount the duty of vindicating the Old Testament as the great witness for liberty . . . the witness of the sacredness of this earth” to God’s cause and to the people’s.

But outside sermons take the great succession of treatises which form an almost complete history of the political ideal in Europe from Constantine to the period immediately preceding the French Revolution. Augustine’s *De Civitate Dei*; Dante’s *De Monarchia*; the political tracts of the German reformers; Milton’s *Defence of the People of England*; Buchanan’s *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*; Rutherford’s *Lex Rex*. All of these appeal to the Old Testament; some of them use it lavishly.

It is a fact of great interest, that in the prodigious controversy between the divine right of kings and the right of the people, the advocates of monarchy have their texts chiefly from the New Testament, while the champions of the people relied on the Old. The Royalist divines of Great Britain and France used, as their proofs for the sacredness of the Stuart and Bourbon houses, Pilate’s words to Christ: “I have power to crucify or release thee;” Paul’s: “The powers that be are ordained of God;” Peter’s: “The king as supreme.” But the Scriptures which, after the fashion of the times, popular champions like Milton and Rutherford preferred against them, are drawn from the Old Testament—from the narratives that tell of the subjection of the Kings to the Covenant, and from many passages of the prophets.

When we read chapter on chapter of such excerpts and remember that the Book from which they were drawn was already in the hands and hearts of the common people, we

appreciate how much of the liberty which those wonderful centuries secured for the modern world is due to the Old Testament.

It is obvious that the distinction between the Old and New Testament, which this controversy emphasized, is no artificial one. The political circumstances of the two dispensations were entirely different. Through Old Testament history we follow the growth, the opportunities, the judgment of a nation. The purpose of God is a people; religious discipline and experience, religious duty and hope, are almost entirely identified with national rights and responsibilities, the struggle for national liberty and national righteousness. But in the New Testament we do not deal with a nation at all. There is an entirely exceptional state of affairs, in which religion neither is associated with popular struggles nor assumes the responsibilities of government, but the sole political duty of the believer is reverence to the powers that be—the guardians of that Providential Peace in which the Church of Christ was to spread across the world. This is a state of affairs not so like modern history as the other was, and therefore it is that in this one province of religion the Hebrew prophets have been felt by the moderns to stand nearer to them than the apostles do. The apostles were sojourners and pilgrims upon earth; the prophets were citizens and patriots. And I may add that for the same reasons the Old Testament, though upon a plane of public life different from that on which our forefathers applied it, must always have social and political functions to discharge supplementary to the functions of the New Testament.

Time would fail me were I to go into detail along other lines of this wonderful Book's influence upon civilization. I can only indicate them. Whether we speak the English or the German language, we know what the Old Testament has done for our literature. It has set the rhythm of our noblest English prose, supplied us with the stories of our greatest epics, and furnished us with our most enduring lyrics. The dignity, the spaciousness, the firm, clear language of a large part of our literature are but reflections from it. The Psalter again has been half the world's confessional. Modern men have found in the Psalms expression

of their religious experience more virile and sincere than any of their own hymns. What a part the Psalms and the Book of Proverbs have played in the education of the young, moulding the habits and loosening the aspirations of untold millions of pure and serviceable lives! And all that rich world of character, how its figures have proved, in larger numbers and with force scarcely inferior to those of the New Testament, the masters, the examples and the warnings of all our hearts.

Such are in outline a few of the many directions in which the Old Testament has influenced the moral education of the race. And of course the book has achieved this influence, because in spite of its many obscurities, in spite of the irrelevance of portions of it to our modern life, in spite even of the frequent moral scandals which it raises, men have caught in it the authentic accents of the Word of God, enforcing not only his law, but a very full and clear revelation of his character and his ways with men.

Now this book has been subjected for a century and a half to what may truly be called a more thorough process of research and analysis than ever was undergone by any literature in any language. Let us remember that the science of Old Testament criticism is not, as so many imagine, a thing of yesterday, with results so hastily reached that they may be reversed tomorrow. The Science of Biblical Criticism has a history as old as that of some of the physical sciences. It has been served by as strong a succession of masters, without dogmatic bias and upon methods as exact and reliable. Every one of the positions which it has reached has been contested and re-contested times without number. And not only are its advanced pioneers tending to draw in upon the same methods and conclusions, but they are rapidly bringing after them all but the most hopelessly stagnant of scholars. The passage of Professor Robertson Smith from his early defense of a more conservative position to that of Graf and Wellhausen, still more the capitulation of Delitzsch upon the authorship of the Pentateuch illustrate what I mean. Nor has Old Testament criticism suffered the strange oscillation which appeared in New Testament criticisms in connection with

the theories of Baur. The progress has been slow, careful and assured through the whole of this century.

It is inevitable that under such research and progress of opinion the Old Testament's claim to be history and revelation should have undergone a radical revision. The results—which I desire now to state not in each case as my personal opinion but in order to show the greatest extreme at which the conclusions of the critics have arrived—are mainly these.

The traditional theories of the authorship have been discredited. Many books attributed to single names have been shown to be of composite origin and in parts of much later date than the authors to whom they are entirely assigned by their titles. The ordinary methods of oriental authorship, by original writing, by compilation, by alteration of earlier material, and by attributing the result to some ancient writer of fame—have been discovered to have governed the composition of the Old Testament. The inevitable results of such methods—compromises and even contradictions—have also been alleged to be present. The body of legislation for instance, so far from being a complete code delivered unto the people at one time and through one man, Moses, has been shown to be in part a body of law and custom inherited by Israel from their Semitic ancestors and in part a growth through their own history, bearing reflection of different periods of this. The early history has been doubted; some critics have gone the length of saying that it is impossible to be sure of anything in Israel's history before the passage of the Jordan—except the entrance of a new ethical principle into their national life, by the mediation of Moses and in the form of an inspiration by their national God. But a reaction is taking place here, and I notice that one of the most advanced of our critics has been affirming lately the reality of the patriarchs. The presence of myth and legend has been asserted in the early history, and it has been shown that not merely in ritual and custom, but even in their intellectual conceptions of Deity, Israel was closely akin to her heathen neighbors.

Now I have put these conclusions at their possible worst, not because personally I agree with every one of them, but in order

that being put at their worst we may ask ourselves the question which I set out to answer: whether even by them the science of criticism has paralyzed that influence of the Old Testament which we have seen to be so beneficent and so enduring down all the centuries.

By far the largest part of this question may be stated thus: Has Biblical Criticism by its assured results made it more difficult for us to believe in the Old Testament as the word of God, and as the history of an authentic revelation of himself to mankind?

To that question let me give at once a convinced and cordial answer. So far from removing all grounds for our belief in the Old Testament as the record of a divine revelation, Biblical Criticism in its widest sense has furnished us with deeper and wider foundations for that belief than ever we had before. And in this way:

Before the present era of criticism, when one wished to prove the uniqueness of Israel's religion and by inference its divinity, one usually contrasted it with the ethnic religions of Greece, Rome and the Aryan barbarians. But this was always difficult because those religions were the product of a race very different from that to which Israel belonged; and it remained open for hostile critics to say that Israel's religious distinction and sublimity were due to their racial origin and might be explained by their natural and historical conditions. Renan took up this position forty years ago. He said that Israel's monotheism and the Old Testament spirit of righteousness were due to Israel's Semitic ancestry and in the latter had been developed by the purely natural causes of their desert environment.

Now in nothing have the results of recent Old Testament science been more conspicuous than in the disproof it has furnished of this theory of a natural origin for Israel's religion. For fifty years scholars have been at work on the comparison of Semitic religions—the religion that is to say of all the nations with whom the Israelites were brethren according to the flesh. And while they have illustrated far beyond previous imagination how much Israel had in common with her heathen

brethren of law, custom, and even as I have said, intellectual conceptions of deity, all this common heritage and similarity has only brought out into greater relief the presence of a distinctive element in Israel's religion which all critics are now unanimously agreed was not possessed by any of the others. There is no one who is a more free critic than Kuenen; and he says that although Jehovah and the gods of Moab, Edom and Ammon were so much alike in the beliefs of their respective peoples, who called them by the same titles, propitiated them by the same offerings and even practiced in an imagined obedience to them the same cruel and exterminating wars—yet says Kuenen the religion of Jehovah had in it from the first the promise of all that it ultimately attained to, and this from the first was lacking in other Semitic faiths.

This distinctive element in the religion of Israel which is not to be explained by natural causes, was ethical. From the first Israel had a higher, holier morality than all her Semitic kinsfolk. From the first there was in her, however, rudely wrapped in the forms of a primitive religion—there was in her the promise, the potency of the sublime doctrines of righteousness which she reached under the prophets of the eighth century.

Whence then did this ethical superiority arise—this purer law, these holier ideals, this quicker conscience—which Israel had from the very first? Read their early records on the most skeptical principles, and you will find that in every case Israel's impulses to a higher life came to them through some impression of or belief in the character and will of their God. From first to last it was his influence which the people and their prophets owned. No progress was made in Israel without belief in such influence; without the quick, sincere sense of it in the best men of the nation. But if this be so, and it is a fact granted by the most skeptical critics, who at the same time are unable to explain Israel's morality and pure faith by natural and historical reasons—is this not a state of opinion I ask perfectly compatible with an honest belief in a real revelation in the Old Testament—the belief that behind that national deity of Israel, and through the obscure and vain imaginations the early nation

had of him, there were present the Character and Will of God himself, using the people's low thoughts and symbols to express himself to them, lifting them always a little higher, and finally making himself known as he did through the prophets as the God of the Whole Earth, identical with righteousness and abounding in mercy.

It is, therefore, not surprising that by far the greater number of higher critics of the Old Testament have been men who have continued to believe in its divine origin and inspiration. The acceptance of the modern theories of the Pentateuch did not paralyze the personal faith of Delitzsch. We have had no more free and advanced a critic than Professor Robertson Smith; he adopted all the methods and most of the results of the higher critics, yet his belief in the Old Testament as the Word of God was strong to the day of his death; as for critics like Wellhausen who have been blamed for irreverence in their treatment of Israel's history, it is impossible to read their books without feeling the religious faith that pervades them in the providential guidance of Israel and the divinity of her religion. May I give you a still more explicit proof. Some months ago I had some correspondence with Professor Budde, one of the ablest and most radical of all the younger generation of biblical critics in Germany; and I have his testimony in writing: "*As for me, my belief in a real revelation in the Old Testament steht felsenfest*" stands rock-fast.

But if this our central faith in the Old Testament be not only preserved by modern criticism, but set upon grounds more sure and scientific, surely we can say that all is preserved, at least all that is essential. What matters it whether this or that character be historical if God himself was in the history? What matters it whether this or that prophecy be the authentic work of the man whose name is above it if it be the authentic work of the Spirit of God, if it have the authenticity of truth, of vision, and of life?

Consider the undoubted facts; remember also that so far from being destructive throughout, the literary and historical criticism of the Old Testament has in parts been constructive.

Great parts of the old Testament field remain unquestioned by it—I should rather say fortified, explored, made habitable by modern men. There are the prophets, the poetry, the books of didactic and speculative wisdom which apply the fear of God and the wisdom which springs from it to the everyday life of man. No historical criticism can affect these fields. The reader and preacher may move across them with all the undistracted boldness of his fathers—nay with more freshness, more insight, more agility, for the text is clearer, the allusions better understood, and all the ancient life requickened from which the books originally sprang.

It is from these facts that we may confidently predict for the Old Testament a service in the religion and education of our race as conspicuous and beneficial under the principles of the New Criticism, as for centuries this wonderful book has discharged under the older principles of interpretation.

THE SYNAGOGUE SERVICE.

THE assembly room of the Haskell Oriental Museum was the scene of a unique celebration in connection with the dedication of the building. It was the reproduction, so far as was possible, of a synagogue service as celebrated in the times of Jesus Christ. The exercise was undertaken by sixteen students of the Divinity School who had been trained under the direction of the instructors in the New Testament Department of the Divinity School. The students were dressed in costume appropriate to the occasion, and in the presence of an interested audience carried through the ritual as faithfully as it is possible to reproduce it at the present day from our somewhat imperfect knowledge of ancient forms. A discussion of the ancient synagogue service in connection with this modern celebration will be found on page 143 of the present number of *THE BIBLICAL WORLD*.

THE DEDICATION OF THE HASKELL ORIENTAL MUSEUM, JULY 2, 1896.

THE Haskell Oriental Museum was dedicated July 2, 1896, in connection with the Quinquennial Celebration. The exercises took place in the Convocation Tent at 3:00 P.M. The invocation was offered by Dean Eri B. Hulbert of the Divinity School. The choir of Sinai Congregation sang selections from the Hebrew Psalter. The building was formally presented to The University by Associate Professor George S. Goodspeed, representing Mrs. Haskell. The president of The University accepted the building on behalf of the trustees of The University. The dedicatory address was delivered by Professor Emil G. Hirsch of The University, upon the subject "From the Rising to the Setting Sun." The prayer of dedication was made by the Reverend W. H. P. Faunce, D.D., of New York.

In connection with the dedication a series of three oriental conferences were held to which invitations had been sent to the leading oriental scholars of the country. At 9:00 A.M. Professor David G. Lyon, Ph.D., of Harvard University, read a paper upon the subject, "A Half Century of Assyriology." At 11:00 A.M. Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, L.H.D., of Columbia University, spoke on "The Ancient Persian Doctrine of the Future Life." At 2:00 P.M. Professor George Adam Smith, of Free Church College, Glasgow, read a paper upon "The Genius and Temperament of the Semitic Race." Discussions followed the reading of each of these papers.

In connection with the dedicatory exercises the following messages were sent :

- (1) TO MRS. CAROLINE E. HASKELL,
Michigan City, Ind.

Mr. Rockefeller, trustees, faculty, students, friends and visiting Orientalists send you greeting on this the day of the dedication of the magnificent

building provided by your generosity for the furtherance of oriental religious studies. We regret your necessary absence from us today, and hope that your life may be spared many years to see the results of your benefaction.

(2) TO PROFESSOR JOHN HENRY BARROWS,
Göttingen, Germany.

Assembly convened to dedicate Haskell Oriental Museum sends greeting to The University's honored representative and eloquent apostle to India.

The following cablegram of response was received from Professor Barrows :

PRESIDENT HARPER,
Chicago.

Greetings gratefully received. This golden week prophesies union of religion and science. Warmest patriotic congratulations to University.

In the evening a dinner was given to the visiting oriental scholars in the rooms of the Quadrangle Club. In connection with it brief responses were made by Professor George Adam Smith, D. G. Lyon and A. V. Williams Jackson representing the visitors ; by Professor Samuel Ives Curtiss, of the Chicago Theological Seminary ; by the Reverend Theo. G. Soares, Ph.D., representing the younger Doctors of the Semitic Department, and others. A reception was held immediately afterward in honor of the visitors in the halls of Haskell Oriental Museum.

THE PRESENTATION ADDRESS.

By GEORGE S. GOODSPEED,
The University of Chicago.

It is two years ago today since the president of The University made the first announcement, in his quarterly statement, of the gift of one hundred thousand dollars by Mrs. Caroline E. Haskell for the building which we dedicate today. Last year at this time the corner stone was laid with appropriate ceremony. On that occasion we were honored with the presence of that gracious lady whose beneficent thought has ripened into the building of which, at this hour, we are so proud. It were a

most appropriate thing that she should be here with us today, and with her own hands deliver over to The University, to which she has entrusted so much hitherto, this new pledge of her confidence and regard. In her absence, our minds turn naturally to another, the orator of that former occasion, and it were fitting that he, the brilliant preacher and scholar, the friend of the generous donor,—he who has watched over the growth of this enterprise and encouraged it, who has followed this beautiful structure with constant interest, and who has appropriately called it, by reason of its graceful lines and beautiful proportions, “the lady among the buildings of The University,”—it were fitting, I say, that he should be present on this culminating day to proffer to The University, on behalf of Mrs. Haskell, the completed structure. But Professor Barrows has left us for a season in fulfilling a mission which the same generous friend has initiated, and which, we believe he will bring to splendid fruition. In his absence the duty has fallen to me, and I am deeply sensible of the honor which is thus conferred upon me.

At the time when the gift of Mrs. Haskell was announced, there was dedicated another splendid building, the gift of a generous patron of The University, to be devoted to the cause of physical science. It is a long step from the brilliant, modern and intensely practical work of physics to what, to some, may seem the much more remote, scholastic, theoretical, and less immediately useful department of oriental study. But such was not the thought of the benefactor to whom we owe this building. To her, the “light from the East” shines still with undiminished brightness upon our western science. It has seemed to her to be a service, not only to the cause of sound learning, but also to present day life and work, to provide here a temple for the service of that universal goddess of Truth, whose footprints may be followed and whose instructions sought in the Orient youth of the world as well as in the maturer and more complicated life of the Occident. In providing this building it is the thought of Mrs. Haskell that oriental studies, important as they are in themselves, should find their center

and their greatest utility in their contributions to the better knowledge of the Divine Revelation contained in the Jewish and Christian Scriptures. How well and wisely has she discerned the signs of the times ! The Bible *is* a new book in the light of our new studies in oriental life, oriental philology, oriental history, oriental archæology, and oriental religion. And who can deny that what contributes to our better understanding of the Divine Truth of the Holy Scriptures contributes in the most immediate and practical way to the progress of the world ?

Mrs. Haskell presents this building to The University of Chicago in honor and in memory of her husband, Frederick Haskell, in token of which it is to bear the name of The Haskell Oriental Museum. Mr. Haskell was for years a resident of Chicago and was identified with its business interests. It is appropriate, therefore, that The University of the city in which he lived should preserve a memorial of his useful life. And in this gift of the wife on behalf of her husband may we not see a further touch of beauty crowning this structure ; memories of the past, beautiful self-sacrifice, loyal affection reaching beyond the grave, coming to gather about this shrine of learning, adding to it the grace of hallowed associations ?

I have the honor, Mr. President, to add that Mrs. Haskell has felt a constantly growing enjoyment in the contemplation of this gift as she has realized the care, the liberality, the ability, and the success which has characterized The University in the administration of the trust which she has committed to it ; and I, therefore, in her name, present to you at this time the keys of The Haskell Oriental Museum, expressing the earnest and sincere expectation of the giver that there will go forth from these halls enlightenment, inspiration, and guidance in that learning which has come from the East and which, culminating in the Book of Books and in the teachings and life of the Son of Man, will ever abide as our most precious possession.

THE ADDRESS OF ACCEPTANCE.

By PRESIDENT W. R. HARPER,
The University of Chicago.

WE have come together as trustees, colleagues, students of The University of Chicago, and as friends of oriental and religious learning, in order to perform the last act in a course of events which has extended over two years.

The building which today is to be formally accepted, dedicated to the cause for which it was intended, and opened to the public, as has been said, is devoted to the cause of oriental and religious work. For the present the rooms on the lower floor have been set apart, with the consent of the donor, for general purposes. But in the near future the entire building will be used for the purpose for which it has been given. The north room on the first floor will be an Egyptological Museum; the south room an Assyriological Museum. The second floor includes two large museum rooms which will be used for material which shall specially illustrate the writings of sacred Scripture, in other words, a Palestinian Museum. On this floor are located three lecture rooms and three offices. The north room of the third floor will be the library room, while the south room will serve as a museum of Comparative Religion. This floor includes also two lecture rooms and three offices. The building, with the museum materials which have now been arranged in it, has cost, in round numbers, \$100,000.

The circumstances connected with the giving of this money were most interesting. An effort was being made, at the time, to secure the sum of one million dollars before July 1, 1894, in order that the gifts pledged conditionally by Martin A. Ryerson and John D. Rockefeller might be secured. While progress had been made, the result was very uncertain. The summer season was coming on, and many whom we might have counted on had left the city. There still remained nearly \$200,000 to complete the sum required. I remember distinctly a warm day about the first of June which the Secretary of the Board of Trustees and



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myself had spent in the city from early morning until late in the afternoon without meeting success of any kind. No person upon whom we called was found at home. As we were returning home it was suggested that perhaps our friend, Mrs. Caroline E. Haskell, who had before expressed great interest in the work, might be willing to assist in the work we were trying to accomplish. It was found that she had been considering very seriously the question of erecting a building upon the grounds of The University in memory of her husband, and in a few minutes she expressed her willingness to furnish the money for the erection of such a building. It was this gift that made certain the securing of the million dollars. The building, therefore, important as it is in itself, means more than at first sight would appear. In securing this building The University at the same time secured \$900,000, which, so far as one can see, would have been lost to The University but for Mrs. Haskell's timely help.

It is a source of keen regret to all of us that the gracious and noble woman who places in our possession this important addition to the equipment of The University, is not present at these ceremonies. If she were here we should make an effort to express to her the feelings of gratitude which fill our hearts. In her absence we cannot do less than express as best we can these same feelings.

In the many interviews which she has kindly accorded me I have come to understand, I think, the motive which prompted the gift. Her heart is full of love to God who has so providentially guided her life. Her mind is so occupied with the thought that men and women everywhere should know more about the revelation vouchsafed by this God to humanity; her whole soul is so aglow with the contents of divine truth itself, that she makes this contribution to further the interests of a true understanding of the true religion. She realizes, moreover, that this thought of relationship to God is universal; that in the minds of men everywhere there has been effort to find the God whom we, the disciples of Jesus Christ, have learned to know from our Master. She would have all such efforts studied and analyzed in order that their contribution may be placed side by side with the

great contribution of Christianity. Few women, I make bold to affirm, ever indicated a broader comprehension of modern truth and modern methods than has the woman whose name we desire to honor today. The gift has been prompted by an honest and sincere desire to benefit the human race, and the method of giving was as gracious as the thought which prompted it was broad. It came without restrictions of any kind. There have been many contributions to the cause of religion, but no single contribution was ever made with purer motive or deeper purpose.

On behalf of the Trustees of The University I accept from Mr. Goodspeed, whom she has chosen to represent her on this occasion, the keys of Haskell Oriental Museum, and I promise on behalf of The University that the building shall be sacredly set apart for the purpose indicated.

FROM THE RISING TO THE SETTING SUN.¹

By EMIL G. HIRSCH,
The University of Chicago.

The novelty of an Oriental Museum in America.—The influence of the East through biblical literature on the West.—No distinctions in the forum of science between life and death.—The philanthropy of true science.—It brings the ages near unto each other.—The Semite's important rôle in history.—His modern position.—The necessity of studying his literature in order to understand our own religion.—Rabbinical literature and its importance.—The traces of the East in modern thought and institutions.—The Semite as the go-between.—The Semite as the apostle of religion.—The aims and methods of the science of religion.—Scientific research helpful not harmful to true religion.—The true prophet revives. The museum's opportunity.

WERE from his grave to arise today and come into the midst of us the old Maccabean bard, his triumphant confidence which erst broke forth in joy from his lyre would be framed once more on his lips: 'ממזרח שמש עד מבוא מהלל שם ה'.' "From the rising of the sun to his setting is glorified the name of the Lord." Abdallah's son, too, the prophet whose name is linked five times each day in the Muezzin's call to prayer with that of the god he preached, might find today among us a strong confirmation of his position that "unto Allah belongeth the morning's East and the evening's West." Even the mind of one ordinarily least given to musing and most inhospitable to the suggestions of fancy, I hold, will have difficulty to resist the poetic force of this occasion's contrasted associations. An oriental museum dedicated to its great opportunities in this the most occidental of our modern cities! The mute mummy, perhaps when still quick, the subject of a dynasty neighboring history's uncertain issue from fable's mysterious dusk, perhaps one of the priestly choir chanting Ra's morning greeting, destined now to stimulate the

¹ Address delivered at the dedication of Haskell Oriental Museum, The University of Chicago, Thursday, July 2, 1896.

scholarly curiosity of the sinking sun's children and aroused from its swathed sleep while the fury and fanaticism of the latest controversy in modern finance rolls along our stretching prairie to the furthest coast lands of the Pacific! Five decades ago, he who would have foretold that the youngest among the nations would some day pay lover's court to the broken symbols and trinkets saved from the dust of the most ancient, would have met but few credulous ears. America then having according to popular conceit no history of its own, had no concern in historical investigations. Prospect, not retrospect was the Shibboleth of its energy. Even then, philosophic thought had easy task to appreciate that only in a much restricted sense the current epigram about America's freedom from history carried the stamp of truth. With no set of men, however bold and strong, of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries did time begin anew. The pioneers who set on the Atlantic their westward sail were heirs of all the ages stretching behind. They brought hither the best that Europe's noblest races owned, Anglo-Saxon grit and Teutonic sense of duty,—a wealth of ideas and ideals spun on a loom the shuttle of which had been thrown by the busy hands of countless generations. With the pilgrims, Jerusalem's deepest thought, if not its speech, found foothold and founded altar on the virgin soil of America. The desire to know more of the message of Judea's prophets and to understand more deeply the book and words of Him of Nazareth stood sponsor over the cradle of the first of our American universities. Harvard and Yale were much more the offspring of the Jordan's bridal union with the swifter currents of the Charles than of the Tiber's love and the Illissos' longing for a new espousal in a new continent. Through the windows of Scripture, the East peeped in upon the West. But as the literature of and primarily for the Jews whatever the crown jewels it displays which no other collection of writings may duplicate, is in itself to a certain measure the mirror of custom and conceit, the reporter of occurrence and circumstance of nations contiguous to its own home, nations that like Egypt and Assyria, like Persia and Macedonia and Rome have affected to very vital degrees the fate of mankind;

through line of psalm or verse of gospel, America, as the whole world before, was brought into closest touch with and often dependency on the far-off dreamlands of the East. To understand then the Bible as one of the most potent factors of our own culture and conduct, we have to turn back to the regions of earth where the sun of our civilization first arose in splendor. If there be skeptic to doubt Jerusalem's hold on America, or cynic to deplore the influence of Judea on the modern world, let him, for the nonce, have his way. The usefulness of this museum is not imperiled by concessions to his prejudice.

In the forum of science the distinctions between life and death have no cogency. Neither have the alternatives between the practically useful and the theoretically interesting. This museum, it would appear, shelters dead remnants of a dead and distant day. Be it so! The vast domain of human life and labor is science's great preserve. They were men who spoke the languages that here we would re-learn; they were men who traced the curious wedges and hieroglyphs that here we would decipher; they were men who drank from this curious bowl or leaned on this oddly curved crook! They were men who wept and thought and loved and hated and hoped and believed. Not merely the man at our elbow, no, he in his grave these hundreds of circling suns is our neighbor. *Homo sum et nihil humani alienum a me puto*, the true man of science cannot but feel that these words of Terence formulate his creed.

The test of civilization after all is philanthropy in its original etymological sense. The science of man is the last but the most important in the historical succession of man's studies. Men were on terms of greatest intimacy with the stars, before they ever dreamt of exploring the depths of their own minds or souls. And still, it is out of the interest in man that every science is born. Astrology, pathfinder to astronomy, is child of the desire to ascertain man's fate. The great technical appliances of our day, laughing to scorn the obstacles of space and time, have reduced in our thought mightily the proportions of the globe, but enlarged correspondingly the boundaries of humanity. We have discovered that in the far-off isles of the Pacific, in the

Arctic and Antarctic circles, in the jungles of Asia, the pampas of South America, in the forests of darkest Africa, our planet is peopled with beings who are our kin and kith. The researches of historical anthropology have done similar service with that of modern technology; for the removal of the barriers between one type of civilization and another, erected by the successive ages has been its work. Under its guidance, we learn, and that frequently to our great surprise, that ages before we were, men dwelled on God's footstool whose life was quivering with the same pathos and stirred by the same passions, whose minds were perplexed by the same fundamental problems as are ours. To engender this sympathy of man with man, overleaping the gaps of the centuries, is one of the purposes and possibilities of a museum like this.

It is certainly both a vast territory and a goodly part of mankind that the studies which center around the objects cased under the museum's roof bring into the focus of our attention. Wherever the original home of the Semite may have been, in the burning stretches of the Arabian desert, along the littoral of Africa, or near the cradle of Mesopotamia's river-godfathers, he has in his wanderings traversed many a mile and built his temporary tents or permanent roofs under many a sky. Nineveh and Babylon, Damascus and Tyre, Jerusalem and Mecca, and to a certain extent Thebes and Memphis testify to his presence on earth. In length of years of activities, he has but few rivals. The fourth millennium probably began for him its rounds when he sent out his hopeful message in the lowly Nazarene's life and love into a waiting world. The numbers he has influenced during his transit across time's stage are taxing the ingenuity of the accountant. Christianity's millions, Islam's hosts are directly under the spell of his word. Nor has he descended into the silence of death. If one of his poets sang: *לֹא הַמֵּתִים יִהְיוּ יָהּ* "Not the dead praise God, nor those that step down into the still region," he is among those that still living "relate the deed of his God." With the strength of conservative resistance which is his characteristic dower, he has, while influencing the centuries, neutralized the centuries' dissolving acids. Abraham still tents in yon Sinaitic peninsula. The Soudan and

Abyssinia, Mahdi's or Menelek's armies are certainly modern enough to satisfy the most modern craving for "new" things and "new" curiosities. And they belong to Semitic history.

Moreover Israel is both ancient and modern. The pyramids were young when he was well advanced in years, and the Eiffel Tower looked down upon him still unwithered and in vigor. His literature has become the common possession of mankind; no other book has given echo and assumed form in as many languages as his Bible. Nor did he with its production exhaust his vitality or originality. It is true, his post-biblical writings, as to a certain extent even his biblical, are a great basin into which almost every river of thought has emptied its waters.

Egypt, Phœnicia, Syria, Assyria, Babylon, Persia, Greece, Rome in pre-Christian days, scores of other potent waves in the post-Christian centuries; yet Israel's mind made the contributions of his neighbors who often were his masters and tyrants, his own, and recast them into new potencies by the power of his peculiar genius and views. The New Testament is his as much as is the Old. One who is not at home in the thought life of the synagogue in the days when Galilee's hills grew eloquent, cannot apprehend the full original force of the gospel's ethics or trace the fiber in the great apostle's theology. Jewish history is a romance wonderful in its external unfolding as well as in the intensity of the idealism to which the outward occurrences are but a foil. Few appreciate this wonderful life of which Talmud and rabbinic lore are the precipitate. Let us for argument's sake grant the contention so popular in circles that never took the trouble to inspect a single Talmudic book that Talmudism marks a pathological deterioration. Even so, such pathology of human mind as this would be invites profitable study. But is the verdict tenable? In a granary like this, chaff is always mixed with wheat. But there is wheat and great quantity of it in the storehouse of rabbinic erudition. Law, civil and religious, mathematics, botany, philosophy, medicine, poetry, folklore, philology will find therein much valuable material for the history of their own growth, and much will appear under the test to have been a real and permanent contribution to the living

thoughts of the world. Judah's harp found melody again in Andalusia and sounds even now in Poland and Russia. Hebrew is a living tongue now for many of our fellowmen. Schoolmen draw their equipments from the arsenal of Jewish thinkers. Spinoza's thought, to a certain extent one of the creative elements of modern science, is echo largely of Maimonides and Creskas! To have given rabbinics and Jewish history a place in its temple is one of the distinctive services rendered to the cause of Semitic studies and broad religious tolerance grounded on an intelligent appreciation of differences, and respect for honest convictions, by our own university; and this welcome and hospitality is all the more signal when it be borne in mind how indifferent and apathetic, not to say hostile, most universities, even in Europe, have been to this great field. The Semite is not dead, nor is the East merely a vast mausoleum. It never has been asleep. Endymion exhaling the stifling fumes of musk—and hypnotized—is indeed not its patron pattern. Neither 'Honya Ham'aggel, the Talmudic Rip Van Winkle, nor the fabled sleepers of Ephesus, whose story is told in so many variations, have typed the eastern mind. The rising sun has impressed the lands and peoples of his setting most deeply.

But, even if the lands of the Morning were mere houses of the dead, let us be reassured, science busy with mummies would still not be bootless. The stream of human passion and action runs on continuously. This newest hour, gaudy butterfly of freedom, young as some would have it, is child in direct line of descent of the remotest day, and carries on its wings the distinctive marks of its antecedent dull chrysalis state. Science has not the prophet's mission. Exegesis, explanation is its main burden. How things came to be what they are, is its sole pre-occupation. Science is always retrospective. During one of the great annual ceremonials in the old temple service, so we are told, the Levitical choristers turning their back on the rising sun, would intone this solemn chant: אֲבֹתֵינוּ שֶׁהָיוּ בְּמִקְוֵם הַזֶּה אֲחֻרְיָהֶם אֵל הִכְל וּפְנִיָּהֶם קִדְמָה לְשֶׁמֶשׁ וְאֵנוּ לִיָּה וּפְנִיָּנוּ לִיָּה (Sukkah v, 4.) "Our fathers who were before us in this place, turned their back upon the temple's hall, their eyes eastward to the sun. But we

are unto God, our eyes are unto him." The point of this antithetical controversy expressed in this song may have been directed against Hemerobaptists. But today, no one admitted to the Levitical ministry of both temple and the rising sun of science will hold their respective attitudes to be irreconcilable. Temple points aloft; but knowledge gazes into the past: The rising sun is its magnet. Faith gives direction; knowledge power. The past is the dynamo supplying energy; the future sets the goal which to reach this accumulated and cumulative force must be vitalized. The science which finds home in this museum particularly has shown how close the relations between the Orient and the Occident are to this very hour. No chasm gapes unbridged between the rising sun and his setting. *Ex Oriente Lux* is more than description of physical fact. In the realms of the spirit, too, light goeth forth from the morning's chamber. The Hebrew idiom expresses eternal by the use of the word קדם, "East." Much of the permanent possessions of our culture comes, in very truth, from the East. A glance at the dial of our watch ticking off the day-monarch's westward progress links us to the Assyrian system of counting by sixty and twelve. The primer of the novice in the art of reading takes us back to the inventors of the alphabet. And though the schools with good show of reasoning defend their different theories as to who was the first inventor of independent sound's fixation in single sign, they are agreed that some of the eastern clans, Phœnicians or others, first wrought this wonderful and simple instrument for bodying permanently the mind's or heart's wishes. Kadmos, the eastern man, was indeed the writing master of the world. Art counts among us gifted votaries. Where was her original birth-chamber? In Greece? Ah, no, there she attained her perfect grace, indeed, but thither she came an emigrant from other skies. Assyria or Egypt has a good title to be recognized the homestead of even beauty's first child's infancy. Modern English and German owe many a phrase and idiom to those who sang the shepherd songs of Israel or played at solving riddles in some gateway under the shadow of Carmel, Sinai's thunder sounds through many a decision of our own courts, and Gol-

gotha's sigh has not ceased whispering of peace and pity in our own poetry of consolation. English lyrics would be orphaned without the lyre of the Hebrew bards. The Semite of Semites, Mohammed has not merely imposed his alphabet upon the Aryan Persians; their modern tongue is unintelligible without the knowledge of the idiom in which the Koran is written. And unspeakable Turk, Tartar perhaps in speech, the kindred of Finns and Huns, draws color and ornament for his syllabled gibberish from the Arabian desert's book. Originality has often been disputed to the Semite. He has been characterized as the carrier, the go-between. No doubt, among the parts assigned to him, this rôle occupied no small portion of his time or energy. While such words as *Magazine* and *Tariff* document his activity as an organizer of commerce, Algebra and Elixir and Alchemy witness to his activity in the field of higher things. As a "go-between" both the Jew and the Syrian preserved for the Middle Ages the knowledge of Greek thought and literature. Jew and Syrian, and later the Arab, were the great translators. Many thousand pages might be filled with the names of the Semitic men engaged in interpreting the ideas of Plato and Aristotle and others, and with a catalogue of their works. If the occidental world was so eager to learn of Greece, in the century of the Renaissance, this curiosity to hear the Greek masters talk was to no slight degree the result of the labors of the oriental translators, who had, to the sinking sun, brought the knowledge of his own children, the thinkers of Greece, by the roundabout, circuitous route of Syriac—Hebrew and Arabic—Hebrew—Latin, versions.

If all this be externalities and accidental by-play, eternalities, too, abound, and that of far-reaching import to project into the foreground of attention the vitalizing power of the East in our western life. Religion is among the most potent factors in human civilization by no means the least or last. Whatever the source of its gushing waters, they have coursed through the fields of man, carrying on their leaping waves many a well-freighted bark and driving many a mill's wheel. This stupendous fact invites investigation. To research in this but little visited field the museum will give a new stimulus and for the student it will furnish

the tools. The chemist has his laboratory; the astronomer his observatory; the linguist his library; the modern theologian must have his books indeed—but also his museum. As yet, these “stations of retrospective experimentations” are few. Even in Europe, the provisions for this new study, the glory of our age, are not abundant. Still the comparative *science* of religion, being anxious to vindicate its right to the distinction of a place in the hierarchy of the sciences, cannot perform its charge without the resources of a well-arranged and well-stocked museum. Religion is a large word: There is none larger in human language. And yet many have contrived to compress it into a very small compass. The science of religion is still in its early youth; not more than three decades measure the time since it began to be recognized in the academic household; and at the gates of many a divinity school it is knocking for entrance even now in vain. It is an ambitious young giant, the child of comparative philology and much attached to ethnology, folklore and the study of literature. It would give back to religion its widest scope; it would trace the outlines of God’s architectural plan of the vast Temple of Humanity; descend to the crypt and ascend to the dome, in one word pay heed to every stone or beam which was intended for this vast edifice of thought, feeling and aspiration, contributions to which have come from the poles as well as from the equator—for which we have the one common grand name—religion. It shows God in all the various ways along which men have groped after him; the “unknown God” after whom the weaker races have yearned, who to the stronger men and minds has spoken, not in the fire and not in the flame, but in the still small voice. Ibn Gabirol, singer in Israel’s synagogue, set, as many as eight and a half centuries ago, to rhyme this guiding ambition of our young science when he in his poem, “Kether Malkhuth,” “the Crown of the Kingdom,” breaks forth in the announcement: “All creatures are thy servants and worship thee, O God: כִּי כֹנֵן כָּל־מַלְאָכָיו לְפָנָיו , “for it is the intention of all of them to draw nigh unto thee.” According to our science, over every sanctuary erected by man, on every Mazebhah, however primitive the script, the searching eye may read the inviting inscription to

reverential study: *Introite et hic dii sunt*. "Enter ye, here also dwell the gods," symboling in an imperfect way the great *I Am* of the universe.

Fetiches reflect the universally human aspirations. They are as important to the student of religion as are the snatches of ditties collected at great trouble to the investigator of folklore and language. Science is contingent on the fullest possible collection of facts. It is from the facts that the theory must be abstracted. Both its foes and friends have disputed to religion the right to scientific analysis! The friends fearing that such examination might show the equivalence of all religions have done like Moab of old, forgotten their old enmity against Midian, the sworn adversaries of religion who hold it to be an idle intrigue, a rank imposition, and have made with them common cause against Israel. Calling Balaam to curse, they are doomed to hear him vaticinate blessings. Yea, the science of religion has in so far demonstrated the equivalence of religions, as it has shown all religion to be rooted in a universally human need. But while tracing the growth upward from lowest uncertain manifestations to the higher revelations in answer to this universal outcry of the human soul, it makes clear the vast and essential difference between crude animism or so refined a religion even as was Gautama's and that religion, which **כִּי מִצִּיּוֹן תֵּצֵא תוֹרָה** set aglow the hilltops of **מִירוּשָׁלַם** Zion and sent forth its stream of influence over the whole world.

This religion, too, had its history. To read this, its history, is also one of the solitudes of our science. Literature has canons which apply universally to all productions of the writer's pen. These canons cannot be unsceptered when Pentateuch or apostolic epistle or apocalyptic pseudograph is under the lens. The more the Bible in all its parts is subjected to the process by which Homer or Pindar is forced to give an insight into his age or genius, the more prominently are brought to view the peculiar nature of its contents, and its value for all ages. The fear that criticism will rob religion of its sanctity or revelation of its sanction, is ungrounded. The religion of Isaiah is a fact and a force independent of the questions of the authenticity of the scroll

bearing his name. The martyr history of the Jews, their steadfastness in their faith is proof of the power of the religion which culminated in Micah's definition, **אהבת חסד עשות משפט** "justice and love," more forcible than any supposedly or really authentic evidence to Samson's prowess and cunning. Every Jew dying with the **שמי ישראל** on his lips, founds anew on experience the truth of the thought which the Pentateuchal writer clothed in the Hebrew words. The study of the times and surroundings of Him who summed up all religion in the two great commandments, cannot but heighten the pedestal upon which love and reverence and faith have placed Him, as the "son of man." His religion is, indeed, planted upon a rock *καὶ πύλαι ᾗδου οὐ κατισχύουσιν αὐτῆς* (Matt. 16:18), and if "the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it," is it at all likely that the foe of darkness, light and knowledge, will unsettle the **הררי קדם** eternal mountains upon which God's throne is erected?

True science is always reverential. She sitteth not in the seat of the scornful. None of her true priests has ever opened the book of nature without feeling the awe of a mystery transcending and underlying all that is, without, if ever he heard them, recalling the words of the psalmist, **השמים מספרים כבוד אל** the heavens intone God's glory. And none has ever in the truly scientific spirit approached the study of traditions endeared by the faith of his infant years or deemed essential in the faith of his neighbor without being impressed, as his researches proceeded, with the certainty that **תורת ה' חמימה** God's Torah, written on parchment or on the tablets of the human heart, is perfect. It was Lessing who first conceived of history as a process of divine education of the human family. As such does the student of religion's history regard the slow but steady guidance from uncertain beginnings upward to fuller light which his documents and monuments attest. Nations, like individuals, reach the truth through different media and from different angles of vision. Some—but these are few—see it, as rabbinical tradition predicates of Moses, through **אספקלריא מצוחצחה** a finely ground and single speculum (Leviticus Rabba I). Others must grope after it; the ray is refracted and refracted over and over

ere it reaches their eye. One sun shines in the sky; however varied the colors of the spectrum, one light weaves this band of hope. One religion, though spread out into various spectral plates—is fundamental to all religions; and this *one* religion anticipated by prophet and apostle will be to the end. This consciousness cannot but awaken in the mind of the reverential student of religion's phenomena and history. He will spread abroad his glad vision. If in the right spirit, though in absolute liberty, these studies are pursued, they will bring forth good fruit and help the religious life of our own day to a deeper self-consciousness. Of false prophets, Bible makes mention. The new science of religion has had its own pretended seers. These are responsible for some of the misconceptions and mistrusts with which the air is filled. They claimed to have the power which alone is given unto the true Nabhiim; they worked havoc, while pretending to impart blessings. In Mohammedan tradition, Muscilema is represented as imitating the prophet's benevolent miracles. But while he succeeded in misleading by his attitudes the credulous, the effect of his manipulations was always fatal. The children he pretended to bless, grew bald and fell to stammering. The cisterns he would fill with water dried up altogether, the palm trees which he would rejuvenate died. (*Tabaristanensis Annales* ed. Kosegarten, v. I, p. 154.) He who has the inspiration of the true prophet in science and research does indeed work wonders. He revives the dead to new life.

This museum will be dedicated to this its glorious opportunity. As its treasures grow, its influence will widen and deepen. The cry around us is for freedom, for the breaking of the shackles. The night of a new exodus has come. In the story of the old, as told by the rabbis, while the people scatter to gather gold and silver, Moses, mindful of the promise of his ancestor to Joseph, bids the Nile give up the bones of the dead viceroy, and at his solicitation, the coffin rises from its temporary resting place to go into the new land, a link between yesterday and tomorrow. So would we, as the new exodus is drawing nigh, true to sacred obligations, bid the past rise, the Nile give up its dead, the Euphrates speak once more; the Jordan sing its

songs of trust and love, for into the new life and liberty of the setting sun must shine the light of Him, whom they of the rising proclaimed as the One whose love embraceth all the worlds and whose kingdom shall be established in righteousness and truth. In that father's house are many mansions. His Pentecostal spirit speaketh many tongues. But in the blended chorus of the ages, sounds one note: 'ממזרח שמש עד מבואו מהלל שם ה' "From the rising of the sun to his setting is glorified the name of the Lord."



SOUTH MUSEUM

A HALF CENTURY OF ASSYRIOLOGY.

By PROFESSOR D. G. LYON, PH.D.,
Harvard University.

I. Introduction — Object of oriental museums — Interest in Assyriology — Grotefend and Rawlinson — Writing materials — Classes of Assyriologists. II. Sketch of the history of Assyriology by decades, 1845-1895 — The earliest workers — Test of 1857 — George Smith's work — The school of Delitzsch — De Sarzec — Workers of the last decade — El Amarna — Niffer. — III. Results — Collections — Interest in universities — Publication — New light on Assyrian history, art, literature, religion, and social life — Relation of this culture to other cultures. — IV. Problems and tasks for the future — Conclusion.

TO ONE who is interested in the Orient it is a privilege and a joy to share in the festivities of this auspicious day, whereon the West dedicates a home for the learning of the East.

The object of an oriental museum is to foster the study and to disseminate the knowledge of the Orient. In attaining this object there are several distinct steps. One of these is the acquisition by digging in the ruins, by purchase, or by gift, of oriental material, either original or in reproduction. A second step is the accumulation of books treating of the subject. A third, the attraction of scholars and of students, who shall master the known and push back the borders of the unknown, and who by their publications and their teaching shall place their knowledge at the service of the whole community. An oriental museum is thus a home for the preservation of precious eastern objects, and also a center of active intellectual inquiry.

Surely no justification is needed for such a study as this. From the East comes light. The Orient is the ancestral home of the race. In the East arose the ruling religions of the world. From the East comes much that is noblest in our literature and most potent in our culture. To understand ourselves we must recognize our obligations to the Orient.

In its broader sense the word "oriental" is almost synonymous

with "Asiatic." In a narrower sense it is often used to designate those portions of the East with which our culture specially connects, western and southern Asia, the home of Indo-European and of Semitic peoples.

Among the Semitic peoples the names most familiar are the Hebrews, the Arabs and the Phœnicians. But older perhaps than any of these, or at least antedating these in the attainment of high culture, was that branch of the Semitic stock, dwelling in the valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates, and known as the Babylonians and the Assyrians. The study of this branch of the great Semitic stock constitutes the science of Assyriology, the most recent, the most fascinating and the most far-reaching department of Semitic inquiry.

It is the most recent. Its real beginnings are barely more than fifty years old. A half century ago Mr. Layard was just undertaking those Assyrian excavations which were to enrich the British Museum beyond computation. Mr. Botta had already, it is true, unearthed the palace of Sargon, near Nineveh, but no one yet understood the vast importance of what he had achieved.

The brilliant work which had preceded Botta and Layard was accomplished not by the excavator but by the traveler, who visited and described the Persian and the Babylonian ruins and who brought to Europe specimens of the cuneiform writing, and by the decipherer, who wrested from these records the secrets of more than twenty centuries. The two immortal names in the history of Assyriology, Grotefend and Rawlinson, may not be omitted even in the briefest survey. These pioneers showed the way to the mystery of the old Persian writings, and this mystery once solved opened the door to a greater, the storehouse of Assyrian and Babylonian lore. By a fortunate circumstance the kings of Persia not only adapted the cuneiform script to the needs of their own language, but they also provided their records with parallel Assyrian-Babylonian translations. The passage from the reading of the Persian to that of the Assyrian thus became possible, and the spades of Botta and Layard yielded most opportunely fresh material for the development of the study.

How fascinating this subject is, how full of surprises, time would fail to tell. The explorers have been thrilled as they have walked through halls and courts untrodden for thousands of years, and the quiet student has been lifted into ecstasy as he has traced the thoughts of his brother penned while the culture of the world was young.

I have called Assyriology the most far-reaching branch of Semitic study. This claim is justified by the antiquity of the Assyrian culture, by its duration, and by its wide connections. How significant these are will appear, it is hoped, in the course of this address.

We may well be grateful to the Assyrians and Babylonians that their chief writing material was clay and that their chief building material was unbaked bricks. By the disintegration of these bricks, beginning as it did, at once, on the decline of political power, the records and bas-reliefs have been enveloped in a covering of earth until our own day. True, countless numbers of the clay books were also unbaked, and most of these have perished, but the greater literary treasures were ordinarily fired, and we may hope, as the result of past and future diggings, that most of these treasures are yet to be our possession.

Yet one more remark, touching the Assyriologists themselves. In a broad view these are of many classes. We have first the patrons of Assyriology, be they governments, institutions, societies or individuals, who by their influence or their money make excavation and the acquisition of collections possible. Then come the explorers, men entitled to the greatest gratitude and admiration, because of the cheerfulness with which, in the interest of science, they endure privation and dangers to health and to life. But we will offer them today felicitation, not commiseration. It is no mean honor to recover for our museums the priceless memorials of the past. It is no ordinary thrill of joy to lift out of the débris of ages a clod enveloping a record more than six thousand years of age, or a weird poem on creation, or a version of the biblical story of the deluge. After the explorer comes the editor, whose duty it is to reproduce, with diplomatic accuracy, on the printed page, the intricacies and peculiarities of the

record before him. To attain success here is of the greatest consequence and the greatest difficulty. Even the slightest error will mislead the little band of scholars who make use of the publication. The editor must therefore be a specialist in the language. But the specialists are more numerous than the editors. They are the little army of linguists, who translate and explain the writings, who prepare the grammars, lexicons and histories, and who thus make accessible to the larger learned public the results of their investigations. Lastly comes the intelligent non-specialist, who eagerly follows the progress of Assyriology, and who publishes afar the results in books and magazines, on the platform and in the pulpit. No teacher of ancient history or of the Old Testament can properly discharge the duties of his office unless he at least belongs to this class of intelligent observers of the work of Assyriologists.

It is not the purpose of this address to give a detailed history of Assyrian discovery. Such a task would be too technical and would require too much time. One cannot even undertake in a brief address to apportion the honors due to the illustrious workers in this field. Our duty today is rather to indicate some of the more noteworthy steps in the advance, and to specify some of the most valuable results of the study.

In giving a sketch of what has been done we may conveniently follow the chronological method, and a division of the half century into decades will be adequate for our purpose.

Between 1845 and 1855 the most important results gather around the names of the Frenchman Botta, the Englishmen Rawlinson and Layard, and the Irishman Hincks. In 1845 Botta had just completed his share in the first great modern work of excavating an Assyrian palace. Soon after began the publication of his five beautiful folios embodying the fruits of his work, with reproduction of the inscriptions and with sketches of the architecture and the bas-reliefs. In 1845 Mr. Layard began in the ruins of Calah and in 1846 in the ruins of Nineveh that series of excavations which has made his the best known name among the explorers. He discovered the palaces of several

Assyrian kings, great quantities of the finest bas-reliefs in alabaster, and large numbers of clay books. His popular narratives carried to a large reading public the knowledge of his success.

While this work was going on a few scholars were busy in applying to the writings from Assyria the key which had been found in the Old Persian remains. Among these Edward Hincks and Henry Rawlinson are conspicuous. Hincks was a genius in the deciphering of riddles and by his keen insight and fine grammatical feeling made many of the most valuable contributions to the development of the young science. Rawlinson first became interested in cuneiform writing some ten years before Layard's work began. As a young British officer in Persia he had copied and deciphered the records of Darius and Xerxes carved on the mountain sides. From these Old Persian records his interest passed over to those from Assyria. His fostering care of the young science acquired for him the well-merited title, "Father of Assyriology," and the continuous services of more than half a century made this title secure.

However brief be the account of this decade, there must be mentioned at least the names of two Frenchmen, De Longpérier and De Saulcy, who made important studies and observations.

Early in the next decade, 1855-65, the progress of decipherment was so far advanced that the various students of the subject translated the records substantially in the same way. A practical test was made in 1857, when the same inscription was translated by four scholars working independently of each other. The amount of agreement was so large as to dispel forever all reasonable doubt that the Assyrian inscriptions may be translated. Among the more noteworthy of the workers in this decade, besides those already mentioned, are J. Oppert and J. Ménant in France. The former had begun his studies in the preceding decade. He now published the results of an expedition to Mesopotamia which he had made from 1851 to 1854, and his prolific pen has not since then been idle. Ménant has likewise been active. Among his many publications those on the Assyrian seal engravings are worthy of special mention.

Of travel and excavations in this decade the most fruitful is the work of Victor Place. In 1855 Place completed the exploration of Sargon's palace, which he had begun four years before. This palace had been the scene of Botta's successes in 1843 and 1844.

The most important publication of the decade was a volume by Henry Rawlinson and Edwin Norris, called *A selection from the historical inscriptions of Chaldæa, Assyria and Babylonia*. Four other volumes have subsequently appeared, edited by Rawlinson and other scholars. These folios, sold at a price which is merely nominal, place in the hands of students many of the most important cuneiform inscriptions of the British Museum, relating to a variety of subjects. Material was thus furnished which might be worked up by those who lived remote from the Museum.

The linguistic publications of Rawlinson, Hincks and Oppert during this decade may be said to have practically completed the period of decipherment. Much progress was still to come in matters of detail; but in broad outline the Assyrian language was now already recovered from the ruins.

The historical bearings of the discoveries were also now well understood. The Assyrian kings whose records had come to light, were those whose names were already familiar from biblical and classical sources, and some of them had played a great rôle in relation to more westerly nations.

The next decade, 1865-75, is made memorable by George Smith's discovery of the greatest literary product which cuneiform research has yet revealed. This was a poem of some thirty-five hundred lines, most of which, thanks to the insight and the enthusiasm of George Smith, is now recovered. Mr. Smith was an engraver by profession, who by native endowment and without special preliminary training, attained a most enviable position among Assyriologists. The first fragments which he discovered of the ancient poem, now commonly called the *Izdubar Epic*, had been brought from Nineveh to the British Museum many years before. The most interesting portion of

this poem is the tablet on which is recorded a version of the deluge story, practically the same as that given in the Book of Genesis. It is related that when the young scholar first recognized the nature of his discovery he was almost set wild with excitement. One can easily believe the report. Mr. Smith published this poem and much other related material in a well known book, *The Chaldean Account of Genesis*. His other labors were large and successful, including two fruitful trips to Assyria. On the third trip he died at Aleppo in 1876, a victim to his zeal in Assyrian research. In this decade was founded in London a new society, called the Society of Biblical Archæology. From its origin the periodicals of this society have paid special attention to Assyriology and many important discoveries have been published therein. The journals of the oriental societies of England, France, Germany and America have likewise published many Assyrian studies. In more recent years other journals have arisen, specially designed to be mouthpieces of Assyriology.

During this decade entered the Assyrian field François Lenormant, in France, and A. H. Sayce, in England, two encyclopædic minds to whom we are indebted for many brilliant suggestions and discoveries. I bring gladly this just tribute to the work of Professor Sayce, although I have had, along with other Assyrian and biblical scholars, repeated occasion to regret the haste of many of his recent utterances. The acute Josef Halévy in France must likewise here be mentioned. He has been the most valiant champion in behalf of the Semitic character of the entire Babylonian-Assyrian culture. While most other students of the subject see evidences of a non-Semitic culture antedating and shaping that of the Babylonian, Halévy, supported in later years by several eminent converts, has with much acumen continuously denied the correctness of this view.

The close of this decade is marked by the entry of Germany into the field. This means, of course, the application to the subject of those methods of study which have given the Germans preëminence in all lines requiring fullness of learning and patience of research. The foundations were laid by Eberhard

Schrader. In his work on the inscriptions he set forth the principles of the language. As a theologian it was natural for him to lay stress on the biblical side of the science, and we are indebted to him for an excellent work on the inscriptions and the Old Testament. His most comprehensive recent work is a translation into German, in conjunction with several younger scholars, of a selection of important Assyrian inscriptions (*Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*). But one might say without disparagement that Schrader has no greater merit than to have been the teacher of Friedrich Delitzsch.

The philological work of the decade, indeed of the two decades, beginning in 1875, has been largely done by Delitzsch and his school. For twenty years he made Leipzig the Mecca of Assyrian students, who were attracted by his enthusiasm for the subject, and whose advancement was guided by his kindly interest. In his Assyrian reader he gave the first convenient handbook for the beginner. From his pen has come the first critical grammar of the language, and his *Handwörterbuch*, just completed, has placed all Semitic students under great obligations. His other books, essays, and articles have done much to advance the subject.

But the chief work of Delitzsch is that he has inspired so many other young men to the study of Assyrian, and has introduced them to severe critical, philological methods. Delitzsch founded a school, and the great expansion of the subject in Germany and America is directly due to him. Nearly all the teachers of Assyrian in these two countries, and there are many, have been trained either by him or by his pupils. To speak of the work of these men in detail is impossible. Conspicuous among them are Hommel, Haupt, and Bezold.

Fritz Hommel has wrought by preference in the more remote and obscure periods of the subject, and is at present engaged in an elaborate effort to prove that Babylonia is the source of Egyptian culture. Paul Haupt is the author of many erudite and suggestive papers and treatises and has done good work as editor, notably in the publication of the tablets of the Izdubar

Epic, or as he calls it, the Nimrod Epic. In connection with Professor Delitzsch he has established two important and successful serial publications, the *Assyriologische Bibliothek*, in which have appeared many of the best monographs of the Delitzsch school, and the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, the latter in the present decade. Carl Bezold was one of the founders in 1884 of a journal devoted specially to cuneiform study (*Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*. Name changed after the appearance of two volumes to *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*). A monumental work of the greatest value is his catalogue of the cuneiform tablets in the Kouyunjik collection of the British Museum.

In England Theophilus Pinches has done valiant work as assistant keeper of the Assyrian antiquities in the British Museum. He has been a careful editor of texts, especially in Rawlinson's great series, has graciously placed his time and knowledge at the service of other scholars, and has made many of the most valuable recent discoveries.

In this decade J. N. Strassmaier began the publication of a serviceable list of Assyrian words, but this work was eclipsed by a greater service in the next decade, the publication of more than 2500 Babylonian tablets relating to the private and social life of the people. This important class of records had hitherto received but little attention.

The most noted discovery of this decade was made by the Frenchman E. de Sarzec in a Babylonian ruin called Telloh. The explorer found many writings and works of art, very archaic in appearance, some of which it is now believed are hardly later than 4000 B. C. Among the remains are headless statues in the round of the Telloh rulers, carved with great care and skill out of the hardest stone. This find was the more surprising because the later Babylonian-Assyrian sculptures which have reached us are nearly all in bas-relief. Very recent new diggings at Telloh have brought to light a well-preserved ancient library, with its thousands of clay books arranged in an orderly manner. Unfortunately the contents have been dissipated and are now offered for sale in many places by the dealers in antiquities. In 1879 began the publication of a French journal, the title of which is

limited to Egyptian and Assyrian philology and archæology (*Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*).

The Catherine Wolfe expedition to Babylonia in 1884-5 was the first from America, and may be considered as the initial step toward the more important American expedition of the next decade from Philadelphia. Its leader, Wm. Hayes Ward, brought home many tablets and seals, now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York. Dr. Ward has served the science well in making a special study of carved seals.

The first elaborate attempt to deal with Assyrian art was likewise made in this decade, in the beautiful and comprehensive volume of Perrot and Chipiez (Vol. II of their *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 1884). About the same time (1884) begins under the editorship of Léon Heuzey the splendid publication (*Découvertes en Chaldée*) of De Sarzec's discoveries at Telloh.

The year 1884 saw the foundation of *Hebraica*, another journal in which many valuable articles on Assyriology have appeared. Its successful management during these twelve years has been one of the diversions of the busy president of The University of Chicago.

We come now to the last decade, just closed. The good work goes on at accelerated speed, and if this review made any claim to completeness, the bare names of those entitled to mention would fill a printed page. Begging the pardon of all others, I cannot refrain from at least calling such names as Brünnow, Jensen, Lehmann, Zimmern, Winckler, Tallquist, Peiser, and Meissner in Germany; Amiaud and Scheil in France; Budge, Evetts, and Strong in England; Tiele in Holland; McCurdy, Hilprecht, Peters, Jastrow, Craig, R. F. Harper, E. J. Harper, Muss-Arnolt, and Reisner in America. Two or three must come in for a special word at a later point. Early in the decade was founded in England (1886) the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, a monthly devoted specially to this science.¹

¹ Shortly before (1885) the *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie orientale* came into existence in France.

This decade will always be noted for two remarkable Assyrian discoveries. The first is associated with the name El Amarna. In this ruin of an Egyptian capital were found in 1887 some 300 clay tablets in the Babylonian script and language. They come from the fifteenth century B. C. and are of the nature of diplomatic correspondence addressed to Egyptian kings and officials by the kings of various countries in western Asia, including Babylon and Assyria, and by the governors of the Assyrian and Palestinian region, then subject to Egypt. Most of these remarkable tablets were acquired by the museums of Berlin and London, and through the labors of Winckler, Abel, and Bezold have been placed in the hands of scholars. The important new light which the tablets give on the affairs of Palestine before its occupation by the Hebrews has made this discovery the subject of more discussion perhaps than any other has been. That the Babylonian script and language, and therefore naturally the Babylonian culture, was supreme in Palestine nearly thirty-five centuries ago is surely a most significant fact.

The credit of the second great discovery of the decade belongs to Philadelphia, whose generous citizens have provided the money for a new expedition to Babylonia. The two campaigns of 1888-90 were in charge of Professor J. P. Peters, and the third, from 1893-6, in charge of Mr. J. H. Haynes. The scene of operations has been the ruins called Niffer, to the southeast of Babylon. This ruin marks the site of one of the most ancient religious centers, that of the god Bēl, and the explorers have been engaged in unearthing the vast temple of this deity. We are informed that they have taken out some 31,000 tablets and fragments, a sufficiently noteworthy result, even if these tablets were of a late period. But many of them are not so. Some come from rulers hitherto unknown, and apparently from a far higher antiquity than the era of Sargon, who belongs fifty-seven centuries ago. Professor H. V. Hilprecht, to whom we are already indebted for two installments of the inscriptions from Niffer, is disposed to place some of the remains in the fifth pre-Christian millennium. The success of this expedition, far exceeding all anticipation, illustrates what rich sur-

prises are still awaiting the spade of the explorer. This great achievement is largely due to the devotion and self-sacrifice of Dr. Haynes and Professor Hilprecht.

In this review I have not yet called the name of Hormuzd Rassam. A native of the East, and associated with Layard in his earliest diggings, Mr. Rassam has made various trips for the British Museum, especially after Mr. Smith's death, twenty years ago, and has brought to the Museum many of its greatest treasures, such as the Sargon macehead, the Abuhabba tablet, and the bronze strips from the palace gates of Balawat.

Before turning to another branch of our subject, let me mention two other important recent American contributions. Dr. G. A. Reisner, of Harvard University, has just issued for the Berlin Museum an admirable volume containing a collection of Sumerian-Babylonian hymns belonging to the Greek period. Professor R. F. Harper of The University of Chicago is engaged in publishing the Assyrian letters of the Kouyunjik collection in the British Museum. Two volumes have appeared and the series when complete will constitute one of the most significant contributions to the hopeful young science.

As we glance backward over this brief survey, it appears that the work of exploration has been divided among the French, the English and the Americans. The English have acquired the largest collections of tablets and bas-reliefs. The French have done, as one might anticipate, the best work on the art, both architecture and sculpture. Though late to enter the field, the Germans have given to the subject its great philological impulse of the past quarter of a century. No one who appreciates the difficulties, in the field and in the study, can withhold his admiration from the men who have toiled so devotedly to recover and revivify the memorials of a long buried past.

Turning from this review of the work of the half century, let us now summarize the results of this great activity.

The most tangible result is, of course, the collections of literary, artistic and industrial objects from the Assyrian-Baby-

lonian ruins. These are familiar to the visitors of the museums in London, Paris, Berlin, Constantinople, Philadelphia, and New York, not to mention the scores of smaller collections made by other institutions and individuals.

The language is now taught in many of the leading universities, particularly in Germany and America, and in some of the theological seminaries. Among these universities may be mentioned Berlin, Leipzig, Breslau, Munich, Heidelberg, Paris, Oxford, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, Pennsylvania, Columbia, Michigan and Chicago.

Of periodicals there are four founded with special reference to Assyriology, while about a dozen others, devoted to oriental or biblical science in general, frequently publish Assyriological papers.

The Assyrian section is attaining importance in most of the great oriental and biblical societies in Europe and America.

A good beginning has been made in the work of publishing the texts, notably those in London and Berlin, and one might easily name a score of editors who have been engaged in this task.

These tangible, external results speak for themselves, but they have been possible only on account of the intrinsic value of the Assyrian material. Let us now turn our attention to this subject.

We note, first, that in the Assyrian-Babylonian material we have the contemporary records of the chief actors in the great political drama of western Asia from the earliest times till our own era began. Fifty years ago the times of Abraham seemed remote. Today Abraham must be reckoned among the moderns. Fifty years ago we knew of Assyrian history little beyond the names of a few rulers. Today we know many scores of these rulers, their wars, their buildings and their hunting expeditions, and we read the very words in which they recorded their glorious deeds for posterity. Fifty years ago the Assyrians seemed to be only a warlike tribe who made predatory assaults on inoffensive nations of the West. Today we see the whole

current of western history directed by the statecraft of Nineveh and Babylon.

We note, secondly, that these discoveries have given us real history for legend. That Greek and Roman writers could not know that history was not their fault. They had no adequate means of knowing. Nor can we blame the biblical writers that they have mentioned so briefly Assyrian affairs. It did not lie within their scope to do more. But we may be grateful even to erring classic tradition and to brief biblical reference, because these have furnished useful hints in finding our way to the secure paths of living Assyrian history.

Thirdly, in the bas-reliefs we have the pictorial story of the times. Without the writing these pictures would be in part unintelligible, but with the writings they become a great aid in reconstructing the ancient life. More than any other Semitic people the Assyrians were lovers and patrons of art. From their chisels have come some of the world's finest specimens of bas-relief. The mass and quality of their carving, both on stone slabs and on seals, is such that their work forms an important chapter in the history of art. Impressive still in its fragmentary condition and in its new surroundings, how deeply impressive must it have been as a whole in its original setting, where part fitted to part and where its spectators understood each symbolic detail.

Fourthly. Assyrian literature, at least in fragments, has now become familiar. We read the fables and mythological poems, the great deeds of men and of gods, with which the ancient bards charmed their listeners. We see the battle between the god of light and the demon of chaos, and join in the chorus which the old Babylonians raised in honor of the victor. With Izdubar we slay monster savage beasts, free the land of tyrants, scorn the proffered hand of the goddess of love, wander over untrodden regions, and hear on the blessed isles the story of the deluge.

Fifthly, the ancient religion lives again before our eyes. We see the gorgeous temples, the awe-inspiring statues of the gods dwelling in their shrines or borne about in sacred procession, the

mitred priest, the solemn sacrifices. We have our part in the observance of the religious festival, go with the worshiper to confession, and join with him in singing the praise or invoking the aid of the mighty gods. Religion is one of the vast concerns of life, and Babylonian society was as deeply saturated with religion as was the Hebrew. With striking differences between the two systems, there are also noteworthy resemblances, a fact whose importance is soon to come into clearer light through the special labors of several Assyrian scholars.

Sixthly. The social organization astonishes us by its complexity and its high qualities. Thanks to the countless records of social contracts, we have a closer view of it than of that of almost any other ancient people. The accounts of barter, sale, money lending, hiring, renting, marriage, dowry, wills, adoption of children, lawsuits, reveal a state of affairs not essentially unlike that in which we now live. And so it had been for thousands of years before Jeremiah wrote to the Jews in exile to be quiet citizens and pray for the peace of Babylon.

This catalogue would make Assyria worthy of attention if Assyrian life and history stood apart from the rest of the world. If this culture had developed by itself and had perished without giving a suggestion or an idea to other nations, it would still be full of instruction to the student of history, of art, of religion, of economics. But such isolation did not exist. War and commerce brought the Babylonians and Assyrians into frequent and close contact with other nations. They were thus both teachers and learners in the great school of humanity. They seem to have reached the Mediterranean in their campaigns as early as 4000 B.C. We have seen that their language and script were the medium of diplomatic correspondence in the fifteenth century B.C., and that they were current in Palestine at this early age. Hommel's thesis is possible, that Egyptian culture came from Babylon. We know that Persia inherited the Babylonian art, and it is probable that Babylonian ideas were the civilizing germs among many of the surrounding peoples.

The relations of this subject to the Hebrews and to the Hebrew Scriptures are of the most intimate character. This is the reason

why Assyriology appeals with such power to Bible students. To the best of our knowledge, the first chapters of Genesis had an Assyrian form long before they became a Hebrew narrative. When the Hebrew hosts invaded Palestine they doubtless heard many stories and poems remaining from the times of Assyrian occupation. Assyrian politics were the doom of the kingdom of Israel, and it was a Babylonian who crushed forever the political significance of Judah. It was in Babylon that the Jewish exiles lived for half a century. The prophets of Israel are full of references to Assyrian and Babylonian affairs, and are often unintelligible without regard to the revelations of Assyriology. The Babylonian psalms offer much to elucidate those in our psalter, which they often resemble in form, in tone, and in expression. Much has been written on the cuneiform inscriptions and the Old Testament, but the subject is by no means exhausted.

Thus far our attention has been directed to the past and the present. In closing, let us turn our eyes to the future.

The problems of Assyriology are not yet all solved. Much has been achieved, but more remains to be done. A noble beginning has been made, but it is only a beginning. In the elaborate structure reared by the Assyrian development we have gained superficial views of a few of the outer courts. The well-stored mass of chambers still piques our curiosity.

From the ruins only a few score thousand inscribed tablets have come. How many hundreds of thousands are still awaiting their happy discoverer only the future can reveal. From present prospects hundreds of years will pass before the work of the excavator is done. It will not be done until the books and bas-reliefs and other precious remnants of Assyrian culture have found a home in the museums of enlightened countries, and until the explorer and the draughtsman have given us the principles of Assyrian architecture.

The clay books already recovered remain for the most part still unpublished, many of them indeed unread. The discoverer

has as true a field in the British Museum as in Babylon. Even if no additions to the tablets were to be expected, the collections already made offer material enough to satisfy the ambition of the youngest and most enthusiastic scholar.

But the collection and study of the remains is only a means to an end. That end is the understanding of the Assyrian development, its relation to other cultures and its lessons to us of today. The special problems in Assyrian history, art, religion, literature, economics are still numerous. Indeed, each new discovery opens new fields of inquiry. The best known periods are not yet perfectly known, while between the earliest and the latest times are whole centuries over which still hangs the veil of obscurity. To penetrate this mystery is now our task. The explorer must dig to the lowest depths of the ruins, and the scholars must apportion among themselves the great field for special cultivation.

And when, in the coming years, our successors shall be able to take in the whole course of the development from the time before writing began, there will perhaps still hover before them the tantalizing inquiry as to the origin of this culture. So sure is this subject to be one of perpetual interest.

A civilization, the oldest of which we know, possibly excepting the Egyptian, must have had an important influence, directly or indirectly, on the culture of other peoples. Of this we are sure in the case of the Egyptians, Phœnicians, Hebrews and Persians. This is tantamount to saying that the Assyrians have left an impress on the whole of western civilization. The enticing vision that attracts the student of today and of the future is the hope of discovering the limits of that influence, and thus of seeing how far the roots of our own culture may have been watered by the Tigris and the Euphrates. In the attainment of this end the scholars who shall toil in this building will bear an honorable part.

I fear that the ardor of my words may have led some of you to conclude that I consider Assyriology the sum and substance of oriental study. Not so. It is but one branch of Semitic study, and this in turn but a department of the vast field of

oriental research. To my own mind the Hebrew development is more important still. Indeed, I must confess that my interest in the Hebrews is a large part of my interest in the Assyrians. And so it is, and so it will continue to be with thousands of others. If I have seemed to magnify my subject, I hope that I have not lost sight of true perspective. I must repeat what I stated at the beginning, that Assyriology is the most far-reaching branch of Semitic inquiry. Some students are inclined to call it the most far-reaching branch of all oriental inquiry. It is at least one of the great subjects which this museum is designed to foster, and as such is worthy of our thoughts today.

Of the other subjects it did not belong to me to speak. They are all great, beyond estimate great.

A final word. Before The University of Chicago existed, some of her older sisters on the Atlantic coast were dreaming of Semitic and oriental museums. Thanks to the generosity of wise patrons of learning, we have our valuable growing collections. But our buildings remain a dream. Chicago, to whom nothing seems impossible, shows, by the impressive ceremonies of today, how dreams are converted into deeds. I offer her my sincere congratulations. And to the lady who has made this day possible I can see, in imagination, the admiring host of Orientalists bowing in grateful salutation.

THE ANCIENT SYNAGOGUE SERVICE.

And he came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up: and he entered, as his custom was, into the synagogue on the sabbath day, and stood up to read. And there was delivered unto him the book of the prophet Isaiah. And he opened the book, and found the place where it was written,

The Spirit of the Lord is upon me,
Because he anointed me to preach good tidings to the poor :
He hath sent me to proclaim release to the captives,
And recovering of sight to the blind,
To set at liberty them that are bruised,
To proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.

And he closed the book, and gave it back to the attendant, and sat down: and the eyes of all in the synagogue were fastened on him. And he began to say unto them, Today hath this scripture been fulfilled in your ears.

And they, passing through from Perga, came to Antioch of Pisidia; and they went into the synagogue on the sabbath day, and sat down. And after the reading of the law and the prophets the rulers of the synagogue sent unto them, saying, Brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation for the people, say on. And Paul stood up, and beckoning with the hand said
Men of Israel, and ye that fear God, hearken.

To THE student of the history of the Jewish nation the synagogue in its religious, civil, and educational significance is an institution of greatest interest. Coming into existence or at least assuming definite form after the return from the Exile, it filled in the centuries of the interbiblical period an increasingly important place in the life of the people, and after the destruction of the temple in A.D. 70, and the consequent scattering of the nation, became the most potent institution for the perpetuation of the national spirit and ideals.

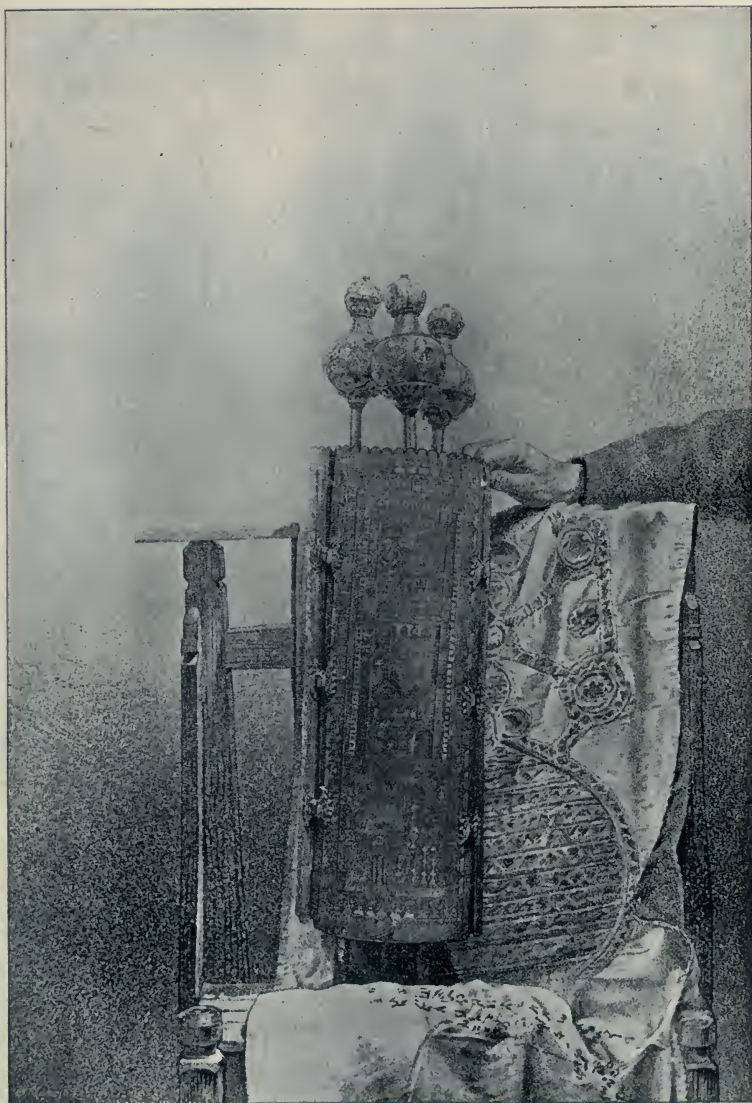
To the student of the rise of Christianity it is scarcely less interesting. It is hardly too much to say that the synagogue was the cradle of Christianity. In connection with the services, though to be sure not exclusively there, Jesus announced the approach of the kingdom of God and set forth the great principles of that kingdom (Mark 1: 14, 15, 39). The apostles and early missionaries of the gospel found in Jewish synagogues, especially those of the dispersion, a pulpit and an audience ready to their hand in the proclamation of the gospel of the Christ. The early Christian churches were themselves doubtless scarcely other than synagogues (James 2: 2)—synagogues of the Nazarenes, as there were already synagogues of the Hellenists (Acts

6:9); and our modern church service is a development from the service of the synagogue.

It was because of this peculiar significance of synagogue-worship in relation alike to Jewish history and to the origin of the Christian church and its worship that an attempt to represent the service in the form in which it was observed in the first Christian century was included in the programme of the ceremonies by which the HASKELL ORIENTAL MUSEUM was dedicated. The purpose of the building is to give instruction, in forms that appeal to both eye and ear, in the history and customs of the Orient, especially in those matters a knowledge of which is needful for the understanding of the history of Israel and of the rise of the Christian church. To illustrate and exemplify this purpose it was believed that a rendering of the ancient synagogue service, at once historically correct and reverent in spirit, was peculiarly appropriate.

A representation perfectly true to first century custom is for lack of full information impossible at present. Yet the Mishna and the New Testament afford us so much trustworthy information as to make quite possible a representation approximately correct and in every way instructive. Some things are certain, and others nearly so.

1. In one respect the ancient service of the synagogue differed very considerably both from that of a modern Christian service and from the service of the modern synagogue: The principal parts of the service were taken not by permanent officers of the synagogue, but by members chosen from the congregation after it had assembled. The permanent officers of the body included the *Zequenim*, "rulers of the synagogue" (Mark 5:22; Acts 13:15) who had judicial functions as well as religious, and a *Chazzan*, or "attendant" (Luke 4:20), who had charge of the building and in the service performed functions somewhat like those of a deacon in a modern non-ritualistic church. The service was under the direction of the *Rosh-ha-Keneseth* or chief ruler (Luke 13:14), though his share in the service was for the most part a silent one. When the congregation had assembled, it was his duty to select the various persons



THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH ROLL
ENCLOSED IN A SILVER CASE

who should for that time take the leading part in the service, and to send the *Chazzan* to notify them what part they were to perform. For the Sabbath morning service some ten or eleven persons were required. First, there was the *Sheliach Tsibbur* or "messenger of the congregation," who read the prayers; second were the readers of the law, seven in number; third was the reader of the prophets (*cf.* Luke 4:17); fourth, when the biblical Hebrew was not understood by the congregation, a *Methurgeman* or "interpreter" was required, whose duty it was after each verse of the law, and after each three verses of the prophets, to "targum" the Hebrew into the language which the congregation understood; fifth was the preacher, also selected from the congregation. As time went on the tendency was more and more to assign all these duties to one person, who also became a permanent officer, and in the modern synagogue, the rabbi, as in the modern Christian church the pastor, has absorbed nearly all the functions of all the above offices. But in the time of Jesus, as the New Testament itself shows, the custom was still substantially as we have described it.

2. The two elements of the ancient service were, speaking broadly, worship and instruction, the latter originally predominating. The former was represented by the prayers which were read by the *Sheliach Tsibbur* with responses by the congregation. Of these prayers there have come down to us from ancient times nineteen¹ so called eulogies, besides four benedictions. Of the nineteen eulogies the first three and the last three are certainly as old as the first century and very probably older. Some of the others contain elements that belong to the latter part of the first century; yet even these may very well be in part pre-Christian. The benedictions above referred are also regarded as pre-Christian.

The element of instruction was represented by the reading

¹ Of these nineteen, eighteen were, according to the Talmud, arranged in order in the time of Gamaliel II, *i. e.*, about the end of the first Christian century. Another, the twelfth in order, making nineteen in all, was added very soon after, also in the time of Gamaliel, but the collection has always been called the eighteen, *Shemoneh Esreh*. The use of the first three and the last three in Sabbath and festival worship is definitely attested by the Mishna and is quite probably as old as the time of Christ. See Schürer, *Jewish People*, Div. II, Vol. II, pp. 77, 87 f.; Edersheim, *Jewish Social Life*, pp. 272, 273

of the law and the prophets, and by the sermon, which though not an essential or uniform part of the service, was, as the New Testament itself shows, a well-recognized and frequent element of it. Preaching very much in our modern sense of the term was a well-developed art among the Jews of the post-exilic period. The recital of the Shema or Creed (Deut. 6:4-9; 11:13-21; Num. 15:37-41) combined the elements of instruction and worship.

3. The service of song, in the form of hymns or anthems seems to have had no place in the ancient synagogue. The prayers, however, have been from very ancient times chanted or intoned. The "music" of this intonation has been handed down only by tradition, and its precise antiquity cannot now be determined.¹ When a few years ago a company of students in the Newton Theological Institution wished to render the ancient synagogue service for their own instruction and that of their fellow-students they procured the assistance of Rabbi Kohn of Boston, who intoned the prayers for them according to the mos

¹ The following interesting note is furnished me by Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch, of Chicago: "The first traces of singing in the German synagogues go back to the 9th-12th centuries of the Christian era; and it is said that the art and the tunes were brought to Germany by an Italian Jew, Rabbi Moses Hazaken, from Lucca. According to some he lived in 877, while others claim him for even an earlier century. He is said to have domiciled himself in Mayence. One of his own family was the first *Poet* of synagogal hymns or poems, in Germany, the *Paytau* Moses ben Kalonymos. Charlemagne tried to get some information on the *psalmodies* of the Jews—a sign that as early as his day singing had been introduced into the synagogal services.

"The chanting of the oldest known service consisted of three distinct types: (1) *Neginoth*; (2) *Psalmody*; (3) rhythmic melodies. The *Neginoth* are the accents according to which the Pentateuch was chanted; they have their origin in Tiberias, in the schools of the Massoretes (600-800 A.D.). Here, according to the testimony of Rabbi Chaggai, children in chorus sang the lesson from the Pentateuch. Boeschenstein in 1518 set these *Neginoth* in modern notes for Reuchlin. The German-Jewish manner of singing these *Neginoths* differs from the Sephardic, but it is undoubtedly the older of the two.

"In *Psalmody*, we find at a very old date (900-1000 A.M.) both Gregorian and Ambrosian *modi*. In church liturgies, some Ambrosian melodies are identical with those of the synagogue. Perhaps this is due to the fact that Notker Labeo, Professor at the music school of St. Gallen under Charlemagne, had taken lessons from Jews from Jerusalem. The Psalms used to be chanted *antiphonally*. (3) Rhythmic melodies are not traditional though very old. Many of them have come down to us from 900 A.D. They are adaptations of popular melodies for the most part, though some are original compositions. The modern 'composers' for our synagogues, such as Lewandowsk (Berlin) and Kayzer (Baltimore) use these old melodies for their groundwork."

ancient form known to him. From his intonation a musician wrote down the music as accurately as he was able, and from this the prayers were intoned by the students at Newton, and by those who rendered the service in the Haskell Museum.

The following may be regarded as an approximately correct representation of the "order of service" for Sabbath morning in an ancient synagogue :

1. Benediction I. Sheliach, Congregation responding.
2. Benediction II. Sheliach, Congregation responding.
3. Shema (the creed).
4. Prayer.
5. Eulogy I. Sheliach, Congregation responding.
6. Eulogy II. Sheliach, Congregation responding.
7. Reponses.
8. Eulogy III. Sheliach, Congregation responding.
9. Other prayers, including extempore prayers might be added here.
10. Eulogy XVII. Sheliach, Congregation responding.
11. Eulogy XVIII. Sheliach, Congregation responding.
12. Priestly Benediction.
13. Eulogy XIX. Sheliach, Congregation responding.
14. Reading of the Law, by seven readers appointed from the congregation by the ruler, and notified by the chazzan ; the methurgeman interpreting.
15. Reading of the Prophets, by one reader, appointed from the congregation as above.
16. Sermon (likewise by a member of the congregation, not by an ordained or permanent officer).
17. Benediction (?).

For the text of the benedictions and eulogies (translated) and other information concerning synagogue worship, see Edersheim, *Jewish Social Life*, and *Life of Christ*, Vol. I, pp. 430 ff.; Ginsburg, Article *Synagogue*, in Kitto's *Cyclopedia of Biblical Literature*, third edition; Schürer, *Jewish People*, Div. II, Vol. II, pp. 52-89; Strack, Article *Synagogen*, in Herzog's *Real-Encyclop.*, 2d ed., xv, 96-100.

Mr. R. H. Ferguson published in 1885 a little pamphlet containing in English translation the morning service for the Sabbath as it was arranged under the direction of Rabbi Kohn for rendering by the students of the Newton Theological Institution. This can be obtained for fifty cents of the American Baptist Publication Society in Boston.

The older authorities are Vitringa, *De Synagoga vetere libri tres*, 1696; Zunz, *Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, 1832. The original sources of information are Philo, Josephus, the New Testament, and especially the Mishna.

E. D. B.

THE ANCIENT PERSIAN DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE LIFE.

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I. Introduction—The doctrine of a future life among ancient nations—Sources of our information in regard to the ancient Persian view.—II. From death to the individual judgment—The soul after death—Allusions—Chinvat bridge—Accounting—Life book—Weighing—The judges—Pangs of conscience—Passage over the bridge—Stages to Heaven or Garō-demāna “house of song”—Heaven according to the ancient Persian view—Grades to Hell, or Drujōdemāna “house of fiend;” or Duzhanha, evil life—Hell according to the ancient Persian idea—Hamistakān, the “ever stationary.”—III. General judgment—End of world—Coming of the Saoshyant, saviour—Resurrection and judgment—Final end of world—The Vidāiti and new dispensation.—IV. Conclusion—Striking resemblance between the ancient Persian views in regard to a future life and those of Judaism and Christianity.

AMONG all the nations of mankind that have cherished the spark of religious faith, that ember has kindled into a beacon flame, pointing onward to a world beyond the present, and to a life, whatever its character, existing beyond the grave. The rude savage bears witness to this truth, as well as those great spirits of classical antiquity, Socrates, Plato, Cato, Cicero; the ancient Egyptians and Hindus, the early Celts and Germans, bear testimony, as well as those who have received the blessed light of revelation. But among the nations of antiquity outside the light of biblical revelation, this feeling seems to have stirred in the hearts of none more strongly than it stirred in the hearts of the ancient Persians, those natives of old Iran, the worshippers of Ormazd and followers of Zoroaster, the prophet who spoke at least six centuries before the Saviour came preaching the truth. The confident belief that the good will be rewarded after this life and the wicked will be punished; that right will

triumph and evil will be destroyed; that the dead shall arise and live again; that the world shall be restored and joy and happiness shall reign supreme—this is a strain that runs through all the writings of Zoroastrianism for hundreds of years, or from a time before the Jews were carried up into captivity at Babylon until after the Koran of Mohammed and the sword of the Arabs had changed the whole religious history of Iran.

It is with reference to this doctrine of a future life for the immortal soul, and in respect to the views relating to eschatology, that there is a most striking likeness between the religion of ancient Iran, as modified by Zoroaster, and the teachings of Christianity. The firm belief in a life hereafter, the optimistic hope of a regeneration of the present world and of a general resurrection of the dead, are characteristic articles in the faith of Persia in antiquity. The pious expectation of a new order of things is the chord upon which Zoroaster rings constant changes in the Gāthās or Psalms. A mighty crisis is impending; every man ought to choose the right and seek for the ideal state; mankind shall then become perfect and the world renovated (*frashem ahūm, frashōtema, frashōkereti*, etc.). This will be the establishment of the power and dominion of good over evil, the beginning of the true rule and sovereignty, "the good kingdom, the wished-for kingdom" (*vohu khshathra, khshathra vairya*). It is then that the resurrection of the dead will take place. This will be followed by a general judgment, accompanied by a flood of molten metal in which the wicked shall be punished, the righteous cleansed, and evil banished from the earth. So much by way of introduction.

Before turning to the sacred books of Iran itself, it may be well to cite the testimony of early Greek writers in regard to the Persian faith in their own time. The contemporaneous statements of these writers prove the existence of the Iranian belief in a resurrection of the body, a restoration of the world, and a life everlasting. It was this doctrine of a bodily resurrection, quite foreign to Greek idea, however strong might be the belief in immortality, that forms a cardinal tenet in the Magian faith. Let us listen for a moment to what Theopompus

(end of the fourth century B. C.), as quoted by Diogenes Laertes (*Proem.*, p. 2), can tell us: "In the eighth book of the *Philippics*, Theopompus says that, according to the Magi, men shall come to life again and will become immortal, and all things will continue to exist in consequence of their invocations." And Diogenes adds that Eudemus of Rhodes gives the same testimony. The authority of Theopompus is cited again by Æneas of Gaza (*Dial. de animi immort.*, p. 77) to show that Zoroaster had already preached the resurrection doctrine. "Zoroaster," he says, "preaches that a time shall come when there will be a resurrection (*ἀνάστασις*) of all the dead." The great biographer, Plutarch, also mentions Theopompus upon this article of the Magian creed. In his *Isis and Osiris* (ch. 47) he describes a coming millennium and restoration of the world, when the devil, Ahriman, shall be destroyed, and evil will utterly perish from the world, the rough ways be made smooth, and the earth will become a plain; there will be one life and one community of the blessed, and one universal language of all mankind. This is nothing else than a description of the new dispensation (*vidāiti* division) which Zoroaster teaches in the *Gathas*. The whole passage is exactly in the spirit of the *Avesta*, and is precisely parallel with the tone of the famous chapter in the *Bundahishn*, which is quoted below. This corroborative evidence deduced from Theopompus takes us back four centuries before the Christian era. In a passage in Herodotus, moreover, we can perhaps go back to the fifth century for an allusion to the Persian doctrine of the resurrection of the dead (*cf.* Hdt., 3, 62).

Such are the important Greek statements that may be quoted on the subject. Turning from these indirect sources to direct Iranian authority we have the testimony of the *Avesta* and of the traditional literature of the *Parsis* as witness. These go hand in hand with the classics and testify to the antiquity of the belief. The *Avesta*, or sacred book of the *Parsis*, holds the same position in Zoroastrianism as the Holy Scriptures in Christianity; it is supplemented by the *Pahlavi Books*, or religious writings of Sasanian Persia, which answer in part to the

writings of the Church Fathers. From the ancient Persian inscriptions of the Achæmenian kings we naturally could not expect to receive any specific knowledge on this subject, as their formal and official character would preclude it. The Avesta is therefore both our oldest and our most immediate source of information on the topic. Three of its books or divisions are of special import in the present connection: They are, first, the *Yasna*, or book of the ritual; second, the *Yashts*, or heroic hymns of religious praise; third, the *Vendidad*, an Iranian Pentateuch. Among the Pahlavi writings, most important are the *Bundahishn*, a sort of Iranian Genesis and Revelation, based upon the ancient "Dāmdāt Nask" of Zoroaster; second, the theological treatises, *Dātistān-ī Dēnīg*, "religious opinions;" *Dēnkart*, "acts of the religion;" *Dīnā-ī Maīnōg-ī Khirat*, "opinions of the spirit of wisdom;" and, finally, the *Artā-Vīrāf Nāmak*, a Persian apocalypse or Dantesque vision of heaven and of hell, seen by the saint Artā Viraf.

As to dates, different periods of composition must be recognized. Some portions of the sacred canon of the Avesta are older than others. The *Gāthās* or Psalms of Zoroaster, inserted in the midst of the book of the *Yasna*, are the oldest portion. They are the sayings, metrical sermons or Psalms of the Prophet himself, and in point of time they undoubtedly represent the period of the fifth or sixth century before Christ.¹ Other parts of the Avesta, like certain young pieces in the *Vendidad* or formulaic repetitions in the *Yasna* which are easily recognized as more recent, may be as late as the Christian era. But the great body of the Avesta is pre-Christian in material and in composition, if not in point of redaction. Metrical passages as a rule are antique. The time of the Pahlavi literature covers a period between the fourth and the ninth centuries of our era; this does not preclude the antiquity of some of the matter, much of which is based upon texts that antedate the first Christian years by several centuries. An example in point is the relation of the Bun-

¹ I must here observe that I do not regard the views of the late lamented scholar, Darmesteter, as expressed in *Le Zend-Avesta*, Vol. III, Introduction, respecting the late origin of the Gathas, as tenable; nor have they met with general approval or acceptance among Iranists.

dahishn to the Damdat Nask and of other portions of the literature founded upon lost original Nasks.

The views with respect to a future life are not complete in the Gathas themselves, owing to the limited extent of this psalter portion of the Avesta. The compass of these versified utterances, dogmas and preachings of the Reformer, is less in extent than the direct words of Christ, but their spirit pervades the other parts of the Avesta and extends to the Pahlavi writings, as our Lord's teachings inspire all portions of the New Testament and are reflected in the patristic literature.

In the detailed discussion of the present subject references will accordingly be generally given in the following order: (1) Gatha Avesta, (2) Younger Avesta, (3) Pahlavi and other sources. But in the first half of the paper the references are reduced to a minimum, as a fuller number may easily be collected by any attentive reader of Zoroastrian literature. In the treatment of the topic, two divisions may logically be made, the first dealing with the fate of the individual soul from death to judgment, the second dealing with the general judgment, eschatology and the end of the world.

As the fate of the soul from death to judgment is a favorite theme to dwell upon, dozens of references are found in the Avesta and Pahlavi books alluding to the journey of the spirit from earth to the world beyond this life. A perfect picture of the general belief can be obtained only by giving many quotations and citations from the texts, but there is not space here. We must content ourselves with the merest outline based upon an exhaustive collection of passages and must emphasize only the most important. Several explicit descriptions, full of vivid imaginings, have been preserved as to how the spirit of the righteous or of the wicked, as the case may be, is believed to linger about the body, in joy or in pangs, for three days and three nights after death. At the dawn of the fourth day the soul awakens to consciousness of the new life amid a breath of balmy wind fragrant with scents and perfumes, or in the face of a foul, chill blast heavy with sickening stench. According to a graphic

image, the Conscience, or Religion personified, then appears before the dead, either in the form of a beautiful maiden or in the shape of a hideous hag, being the reflection of his own soul, and this image advances with him to the destined end. In some instances two dogs, guarding the soul from demons, accompany the figure of the maid. This latter seems to be a refracimento of an old Aryan belief. The soul now stands at the individual judgment in the presence of three angels, Mithra, Sraosha and Rashnu, the assessors before whom the life account is rendered, and the good and bad deeds are weighed in the balance. According to the turn of these scales, which are counterpoised with perfect justice, the final decision is made.

Next comes the crossing of the Chinvat Bridge of judgment, which stretches over Hell between the divine Mount Alborz and the Peak of Judgment. This bridge plays an important rôle throughout all ages of Zoroastrianism. Across it the righteous and the wicked alike must pass; the one to felicity, the other to damnation; the former with the assistance of ministering angels, or guided by the conscience-maiden as some accounts describe; the latter amid the howls of demons and tormenting fiends, or led by the horrid hag. The difficulties of the passage over this terrible bridge of death are often enough alluded to and dilated upon, from the Gathas down to the latest Persian religious writings. The orthodox doctrine teaches that this bridge becomes broad or narrow according to the nature of the soul upon it; and in some late accounts¹ the bridge is described under the guise of a beam that turns various sides according to the doom of the spirit which crosses it, presenting now to the righteous a pathway "nine javelins" or a "league" in breadth, or again presenting to the wicked an edge like "the thinness of the edge of a razor," so that the lost soul falls off when half way across, into the depths of Hell.

As the spirit-journey is further pursued, the mansions of the paradise of Good Thoughts, Good Words, Good Deeds, in the regions respectively of the stars, the moon, and the sun, are described. The description is only less brilliant in its coloring

¹ Cf. Dât. ī Dēn. 21, 2-8; Mkh. 2, 123, Art. Vī. 5, 1.

than the entry into the place of "Eternal Light," the blissful Garonmāna or "house of song," "the abode of Good Thought" the archangel), "the Best World," the heaven "where Ormazd dwells in joy." But offsetting this, is the painful descent through the grades of Evil Thought, Evil Words, Evil Deeds, to the hell of darkness that can be seized by the hand, a place so foul, so gloomy and so lonesome that although the suffering souls be as many and as close together "as the hairs on the mane of a horse," still each one thinks he is alone (AV. 54, 5-8; Bd. 18, 47); this scene of frightful torment is "the house of Falsehood," "the home of Worst Thought," "the Worst Life." With perfect logic, moreover, the religion taught the existence of a third place suited to the special cases in which the good and the bad deeds exactly counterbalanced. This is the *Hamistakān*, "the ever-stationary or equilibrium," an intermediate place between earth and the star-region, somewhat resembling a purgatory in which the soul is destined to suffer no other torment than the changes of heat and cold of the seasons, and must there abide awaiting the general resurrection and final judgment day.

All these ideas, so cursorily touched upon here, are clearly to be recognized in the Zoroastrian books and they each have their prototypes in the Gathas. But passing over these with this sketch so hasty that not even references can be presented, attention may be given with more detail to the second half of the subject, the ancient Persian doctrine of eschatology, a millennium, a resurrection, the coming of a Saoshyant or Saviour, the punishment of the wicked in a flood of molten metal, and the establishment of a kingdom or sovereignty of good which is to be the regeneration of the world.

Notice has already been taken of the oft-recurring expression of pious hope in the Gathas of Zoroaster for the coming of a new order of things at the great crisis or final change of the world.¹ This final change is to be the beginning of the wished-

¹ Cf. Ys. 30, 2 *mazē yāōñhō*, Ys. 51, 6, *apemē añhēush urvaēsē* Ys. 43, 5, *dāmōish urvaēsē apēmē*.

for kingdom or good sovereignty,¹ and of a regeneration of the world.² This is the *frashōkereti*, as it is elsewhere called in the Avesta,³ the *frashakart*, as it repeatedly appears in Pahlavi, in other words "the renovation, perfection, preparation for eternity," accompanied by the purifying ordeal of molten metal.⁴

This Gatha doctrine of a renovation, *frashém ahūm* the renewed world, as found likewise in the Avestan *frashōkereti* and Pahlavi *frashakart* is a distinctly millennial doctrine and is closely associated with the general belief in the appearance of a Saviour and the resurrection of the dead. The doctrine of the thousand years—a belief parallel in a measure with ideas found in the Book of Revelation—is unquestionably an old article in the Zoroastrian creed, although it first appears elaborated in the Pahlavi writings.⁵ It is fully recognized as Magian as early as the fourth century before Christ, by Theopompus,⁶ and his statements are in exact agreement with the traditional literature of the Parsis. According to this literature, a period of 12,000 years is the length of the world's duration, and in the last 3000 years of this aeon occur the millenniums of Aushetar and Aushetar-mah.⁷ These names are found in the Avesta (Yt. 13, 128) as Ukhshyatereta; Ukhshyat-nemah, sons miraculously born, at the end of time, of the seed of Zoroaster, the heralds and forerunners of the *Saoshyant* Saviour.

The development of the Persian idea of a Saviour is an interesting one to trace. The term Av. *saoshyānt*, Phl. *sōshāns* occurs throughout the entire literature, Gathas, Younger Avesta, Pahlavi, but it seems to have different shadings of meaning according to the circumstances under which it is employed, and it

¹ Cf. Av. *khshathra* "kingdom," *passim*.

² Cf. Ys. 30, 9, *ferashém kerenāun ahūm*; Ys. 46, 19; 50, 11, *frashōtema*, and Yt. 19, 11, 89 *seq.*

³ See Ys. 62, 3; Vd. 18, 31; Yt. 13, 58.

⁴ Cf. Ys. 51, 9; Vp. 20, 1; Yt. 17, 20; Bd. 30, 20, *et al.*

⁵ See in Pahlavi, Bd. 30, 2 (in which connection it is to be recalled that the Bundahishn is based upon the original Damdat Nask), and consult Bd. 34, 1 *seq.*; Zsp. 1, 10; Byt. 1, 5; 2, 22; 3, 9; Dt. Den. 37, 11, 33; 64, 4; 66, 10; 90, 7; Dk. 6, etc., 8, 14, 10-14.

⁶ Quoted by Plutarch, *Is. and Os.* 47.

⁷ Pahlavi Bd. 30, 2, 3; 32, 8; 34, 2, etc.; Dk. 8, 14, 10-15; 9, 41, 4-8.

shows perhaps a growth. In form the word is a future active participle from the root *sū* "to swell, increase, benefit, save"—a word connoting the highest degree of sanctity. The term *saoshyant* is employed to denote (1) priest, apostle, saint of the faith,¹ and is so used both in Gatha and in Younger Avestan, being found oftenest in the plural; second (2) it marks especially those holy men who have lived or who will be born, who are to appear in a goodly company at the millennium and lend their aid in renovating the world; third (3) it designates in particular the Saoshyant supreme, their leader, the last of the three miraculously born posthumous sons of Zoroaster, the great apostle who will preside at the general resurrection.

A question may arise as to whether the Saviour-idea in Mazdaism was a tenet that was taught by Zoroaster himself, or whether it may not possibly be due to some influence of the Messianic idea in Judaism. The answer is not at once to be given. The Apocryphal New Testament of the Bible, Infancy iii., 1-10, expressly states that the Magi who came to worship before the new-born Saviour, came in accordance with a prophecy uttered long before by Zoroaster. A similar assertion is made in a Syriac MS. commentary on Matt. 2:1, by 'Ishōdad of Hadatha in the ninth century of our era. A metrical fragment of the Avesta (Frag. 4, 1-4), an extract from Yasht 13, 89 seq., and the well-known passage in the Bundahishn believed to be founded on the Dāmdāt Nask (Bd. 30, 1 seq.), all lend their weight in ascribing this particular teaching to Zoroaster himself. The whole system of the faith appears to be built upon this tenet. To cite from the Gathas, it certainly seems in one passage, Ys. 46, 3, as if the use of *saoshyantām*, in the special connection in which it is used by Zoroaster, did imply the existence and recognition of the belief in the Saoshyant and his company of apostles.² See also Ys. 9, 1-2. In Ys. 48, 9 *saoshyās* may possibly be employed by Zoroaster with a feeling that he himself was the grand apostle of Ahura Mazda. The distinction

¹Cf. Ys. 48, 9; Yt. 11, 17, 22; Vp. 11, 13, 20; Vp. 5, 1; Ys. 14, 1; 70, 4, and consult Darmesteter *Le Zend-Avesta*, i, p. 85.

²And that too, in spite of such passages as Ys. 14, 1; Yt. 11, 17, 22.

between the use of the word in the singular and in the plural should in any case be marked. At all events, there can be no doubt on one point, the Saoshyant doctrine in Zoroastrianism is pre-Christian as is shown by its occurrence in metrical compositions.¹

The great Saoshyant (Saviour) who is to appear at the end of time is the son of the maid Eredat-fedhri Vispa-taurvairi "the all-conquering."² It is believed that he will be conceived in a supernatural manner by a virgin bathing in the waters of Lake Kansavaya.³ In an Avestan prose passage (Yt. 13, 129) his name is called the Victorious (*verethrajan*), Righteousness Incarnate (*astvat-ereta*), and the Benefactor or Saviour (*saoshyant*). The Avestan text itself etymologizes the titles and shows the connection with the resurrection (Yt. 13, 128-129 in prose):

"We worship the guardian spirit (*fravashi*) of the righteous Astvat-ereta who shall be the Victorious Saoshyant (Benefactor, Saviour) by name, Astvat-ereta (Incarnate Righteousness) by name. He shall be called 'Benefactor, Saviour' (*sao-sh-yañt*) because he will 'benefit, save' (*sāv-a-yat*) all the incarnate world. He shall be called 'Incarnate Righteousness' (*astvat-ereta*) because being 'incarnate,' endowed with vital power, he will acquire incarnate incorruptibility for withstanding the Fiend (Druj) with her two-footed brood, and for withstanding the malice done by the righteous."

In the old metrical stanzas of the Zāmyat Yasht (Yt. 19, 89 *seq.*) the idea is even more elaborately developed in verse. A rendering of the passage is here attempted so as to convey a more exact impression than a mere description can do.

"We worship the mighty Kingly Glory which shall attend upon

89. "The Victorious One of the Saoshyants,
And attend his other comrades,
When He makes the world perfected
Ever ageless and undying,
Undecaying, ne'er corrupting,
Ever living, e'er increasing, ruling at will,
When the dead again shall rise up,
When the quick become immortal,
And, as wished, the world made perfect.

¹Cf. Yt. 19, 92; Frag. 4, 1-4; Ys. 9, 1-2.

²Yt. 13, 142, 19, 92; Cf. Dk. 7, *et al.*

³Yt. 13, 62; 19, 66, 92; Vd. 19, 5, *et al.*

90. "Then all beings become undying,
Happy creatures, they the Righteous;
And away the Druj (Fiend) vanish
Thither whence she came destroying
The righteous man, both seed and life.
She the Deadly Fiend shall perish
And the Deadly Lord (Ahriman) shall vanish.

92. "When arise shall Astvat-ereta
From the waters of Kansavya,
Ally of Ahura Mazda,
Offspring of Vispa-taurvairi,
Scion sprung from seed victorious. . . .

94. "He shall look with eye of Wisdom,
Beaming look upon all creatures,
Those of evil brood excepted.
He on all the world incarnate
Beaming looks with eye of Plenty,
And his glance shall make immortal
Each incarnate living creature.

95. "Then, behold, advance the comrades
Of Victorious Astvat-ereta,
Thinking good and but good speaking,
Doing good, of good Religion,
Nor, indeed, have tongues like theirs
Ever uttered word of falsehood.

"From them flees the Demon Aeshma,
Bloody-speared and of foul Glory.
Righteousness smites evil Falsehood,¹
Fiend of sinful race and darkness;

96. Evil Thought verily smiteth,
But Good Thought in turn shall smite this;
Though the Word False-Spoken smiteth,
Yet the Word of Truth shall smite it.
Saving-Health and Life Immortal
Hunger and Thirst shall smite completely;

¹ Battle of the Archangels and Arch-Fiends. See also Bundahishn 30, 29 below.
Observe the personifications throughout, as elsewhere in sacred literature.

Saving-Health and Life Immortal
 Smite down sinful Thirst and Hunger.
 Forth shall flee that evil-worker,
 Anra Mainyu, reft of power."

To these unequivocal resurrection passages in the Avesta, there is to be added a remarkable fragment, Fr. 4, 1-3 (Wester-gard) which has been preserved from the missing Varshtmansar Nask (*cf.* Denkart, 9, 46, 1). The piece is in praise of the Airyama Ishya Prayer (Ys., 54, 1), is rhythmical, and is undoubtedly old. The words of the Airyama Prayer shall be intoned by the Saoshyant and his glorious attendants, at the great day of judgment, as a sort of last trump whose notes shall raise the dead again to life; shall banish the devil, Ahriman, from the earth, and shall restore the world. This is in harmony with the preceding extract and recalls the words of Theopompus, found in Plutarch and his phrase quoted by Diogenes Laertes regarding the continuance of the new order of things.¹ The verses run thus in the words of Ormazd to Zoroaster (Fr. 4, 1-3):

- 1 The Airyama Ishya Prayer, I tell thee,
 Upright, holy Zoroaster,
 Is the greatest of all prayers.
 Verily among all prayers
 It is this one that I gifted
 With revivifying power.
- 2 This prayer shall the Saoshyants, Saviours,
 Chant; and by the chanting of it
 I shall rule over my creatures,
 I who am Ahura Mazda;
 Nor shall Ahriman have power,
 Anra Mainyu o'er my creatures,
 He (the fiend) of foul religion.
- 3 In the earth shall Ahriman hide,
 In the earth, the demons hide.
 Up the dead again shall rise,
 And within their lifeless bodies
 Incorporate life shall be restored.

¹ Diog. Laert. *Proem.*, 6, καὶ τὰ θνῆτα ταῖς αὐτῶν ἐπικλήσει διαμένειν.

This plainly speaks of a bodily resurrection even though the bodies be such as Theopompus (Plutarch) says "cast no shadow."

It might be asserted that in the Gathas themselves there is no direct allusion to Zoroaster's personally having taught a belief in the resurrection of the body. That he did teach the doctrine, however, there is little doubt, as may be affirmed also on the Greek authority of Theopompus in the fourth century B.C. The metrical fragment just translated from the Avesta attributes the tenet to him;¹ and all the passages in the Pahlavi books which are based on Avestan authority, bear substantial testimony to the same.² Everywhere in the Gathas the principal theme is the end of the world, the life hereafter, the great crisis and catastrophe, and the ordeal of the molten metal, when the power of evil shall finally be destroyed.³ These awful events are the ones which are regularly associated with the resurrection in the later literature; they are doubtless so in the Gathas. The occurrence of the mighty catastrophe *mazé yāōnhō* in the Gathas is explained in the Pahlavi gloss to the passage as taking place "at the resurrection" (*tanū-ī pasīn*). This expression *tanū-ī pasīn*, "the future body," and also *rīst-ākhēzh*, "raising of the dead," is common enough in Pahlavi comments on ancient Avestan passages and in other works.⁴

Fortunately there survives in the Bundahishn, drawn doubtless from the Damdat Nask of the original Avesta,⁵ a most interesting description of the last days of the world, the millennium, the coming of the Saoshyant, the resurrection and general judgment, and the annihilation of evil and the reign of good. No more complete account could be given, embracing the whole Zoroastrian view on the subject, than is found in this chapter

¹ Ys. 30, 7, *kehrpēm* seems to contain a covert allusion by Zoroaster to the resurrection.

² Cf. Bd. 30, 4, SIs. 17, 11-14. So also in the original Varshtmansar and Damdat Nasks of the Avesta, as stated in Dk. 9, 33.1 and in the Persian Rivayats 2, 5, translated by West. S. B. E. xxxvii, 14, 421.

³ Ys. 30, 8, cf. Ys. 36, 2; 35, 5; see Ys. 51, 9; 32, 7; 30, 9-10; Yt. 17, 20; Vp. 20, 1.

⁴ Cf. Mkh. 2, 95, 193; 27, 36, 53, *et al.*

⁵ Cf. West *Pahlavi Texts* in S. B. E. xxxvii, p. 14 n, 421 n.

(Bd. 30, 1-33). It is in harmony likewise with the Pahlavi Bahman Yasht (Byt. 3, 43-63) and with the seventh book of the Denkart.¹ The Bundahishn chapter is here given in outline, renderings from West's translation being sometimes adopted verbatim.²

At the close of the last millennium of the world, men will live simply upon vegetable food, milk, and water, and ten years before the Soshans (Saviour) comes, they will desist altogether from eating. At his appearance the dead will arise, each from the spot where life departed.³ "First the bones of Gayomart (man primeval) are roused up, then those of Mashya and Mashyoi (the Iranian Adam and Eve), then the rest of mankind,"⁴ They all assume their own bodies and forms and each will recognize his family, his relatives, and his friends. The preparation of the dead by Soshans and his company of attendants, fifteen men and fifteen damsels, will take fifty-seven years to accomplish.⁵ The resurrection finished, a great assembly of the risen dead now takes place. "In that assembly every one sees his own good deeds and his own evil deeds; and then, in that assembly, a wicked man becomes as conspicuous as a white sheep among those which are black."⁶ Then follows the separation of the unrighteous from the just; the wicked are cast back into hell for three days of awful torment, while the righteous taste of the joys of heaven.⁷

A star now falls from heaven; the metal in the mountains and hills melts with fervent heat, and flows upon the earth like a river. "Then all men will pass into that melted metal and will become pure. When one is righteous, it seems to him just as though he walks continually in warm milk; but when wicked, then it seems to him in such manner as though in the world, he walks continually in melted metal."⁸ Cleansed and purified by this fiery ordeal, all meet once more together and receive the reward of heaven. An ambrosial draft of the white *hom* juice, prepared by Soshans, makes "all men immortal for ever and

¹ Cf. West in *S. B. E.* v. 120-130, 230-235, and in Geiger and Kuhn's *Grundriss*, ii, 96, 97.

² Cf. West, *Pahlavi Texts* (Bundahishn) in *S. B. E.* v, 120-130.

³ See SIS. 17, 13, Bd. 30, 7.

⁴ Bd. 30, 7.

⁵ Bd. 30, 7, 17; Dk. 7th book (West).

⁶ Bd. 30, 10, transl. West.

⁷ Bd. 30, 12-13.

⁸ Bd. 30, 20.

everlasting;" those who died as adults are restored at the age of 40 years, those who were taken when children, will be restored as if 15 years old; husband and wife together attain heaven, but there shall be no more begetting of children.¹

The powers of evil, however, shall gather once more their forces for a final conflict with the kingdom of good. A mighty battle of the spirits ensues.² Each archangel seizes upon the arch-fiend that is his special adversary. The battle described in the metrical Avestan fragment translated above should be compared. Evil is finally routed. The devil Ahriman and the dragon Az discomfited flee away to darkness and gloom. The serpent is burned in the molten metal, hell is purified, Ormazd "brings the land of hell back for the enlargement of the world; the renovation arises in the world by his will, and the world is immortal for ever and everlasting."³ The heavenly work completed, "all men become of one voice and administer praise to Auharmazd and the archangels"⁴—to him, "the merciful Lord, who makes the final retribution, and who will at the end deliver the wicked from hell and restore the whole creation in purity."⁵ The lines of Marlowe's *Faustus* involuntarily rise to one's lips:

"When all the world dissolves,
And every creature shall be purified
All places shall be hell that are not heaven."

Such is the ancient Persian doctrine of a future life, so far as this brief sketch can depict a notion of it. As we review it we must indeed look with eye of admiration at the flashes of truth that shed rays of light into the souls of those faithful worshipers of old. And knowing, as we do, "that our Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon this earth," we ought with all reverence feel that God in his divine goodness has left no time and no race without the kindness of his illuminating grace in some way or other; and perhaps properly we may count Zoroaster, the sage of Bactria and religious teacher of ancient Iran, as one among those "prophets which have been since the world began."

¹ Bd. 30, 25-27

³ Bd. 30, 32.

⁵ Denkart, 2, 81.6, Casartelli.

² Bd. 30, 29.

⁴ Bd. 30, 23.

Work and Workers.

THE translation of the New Testament into English, so often attempted and so successfully accomplished, seems nevertheless never to be so done that there is not room for still another effort. Especially does the ambition to put the New Testament books into *modern* English, in which no obsolete or obsolescent phrase shall obscure its thought and no archaism put it at a distance from the reader, appeal to the mind of certain scholars. At present two efforts in this direction are in progress. A company of some twenty-five English and American scholars are working together to produce a *people's version*, which a working man may read and none can fail to understand. At the same time Dr. Richard Francis Weymouth, Fellow of University College, London, and editor of the *Resultant Greek Testament*, is working at substantially the same task, yet with perhaps a slightly different aim. In an interesting provisional preface which he has sent out he explains the principles on which he is working. He proposes to take a middle course between that followed by the Revised Version and that of a strictly popular translation into everyday English. He does not aim to displace the versions already in general use with one which should merely improve upon them along the same line, but rather to give an independent modern translation which will be a commentary on them. Yet on the other hand he does not undertake to render the New Testament into colloquial English, but will endeavor to employ the dignified language of literature, as befits the sacred character of the books. Dr. Weymouth is an able Greek scholar, and what is specially important for his present task, has given special attention to the relation between Greek and English idioms. His essay on the *Rendering into English of the Greek Aorist and Perfect* is an admirable piece of scholarly work. He states that he has been at work seven years on his present task, and that about one-half of it is completed.

THE death of Dr. Isaac H. Hall, of New York, which occurred July 3, takes from the list of living American biblical scholars one of the number — all too small — who have devoted themselves to painstaking original investigation. Dr. Hall was born in 1837. His father was for a time professor in the Auburn Theological Seminary, and though the son prepared at first for the profession of law, and practiced for ten years (1865-75), he retained his inherited interest in biblical studies, and even while practicing law found time to devote himself to the decipherment of the Cypriote inscriptions to

which the investigations of George Smith had directed attention. His residence in the East as professor in the Beirût Protestant College from 1875-77 gave further emphasis to his interest in oriental and biblical studies, and to these he devoted the last twenty years of his life. For the last ten or twelve years he has been connected with the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. His work in the decipherment of the Cypriote inscriptions, his discovery at Beirût of a manuscript containing a pre-Harklensian Syriac version of the New Testament, and of the Antilegomena Epistles in the Williams MS., his work in the bibliography of the printed New Testament, and his numerous valuable articles in American journals, particularly the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, *Transactions of the American Oriental Society* and of the *American Philological Association*, not to mention numerous more popular articles in the *Independent* and the *Sunday School Times*, assure to his name a permanent and a high place in the list of those who by painstaking investigation of original sources have enlarged our knowledge of oriental history and of the history of the New Testament.

Comparative-Religion Notes.

The Monsalvat School.—A school of comparative religion, called the Monsalvat School was announced to be held at Greenacre, Eliot, Maine, during July. It was under the direction of Dr. Lewis G. Janes, of Brown University, and the subjects offered and the faculty were as follows: Dr. Lewis G. Janes, Brown University, Lecturer on the History and Philosophy of Religion; the Swâmi Sarandânanda, of India, Lecturer on the Vedanta Philosophy and Religions of India; Mr. Jehanghier D. Cola, of Bombay, Lecturer on Zoroastrianism and the Religion of the Parsis; Rev. F. Huberty James, of England, Lecturer on Confucianism, Taoism, and the Religions of China. Special lectures were to be delivered by Miss Sadie American, of Chicago, Ill., on "Why Jewish Women Should Study Comparative Religion;" by Dr. Lysander Dickerman, of New York City, on "The Religions of Ancient Egypt;" by Mr. K. Nakamura, of Japan, on "Buddhism;" by Judge William C. Robinson, Dean of the Catholic University of America, on "The Essential Unity of All Religions;" by Miss W. L. Armstrong, of India, on "The Hope for India." The idea and scope of the work undertaken may be understood by the following extract from the prospectus:

"It is believed that such a course of study will be found elevating to the mind, broadening to the social sympathies, and quickening to the spiritual nature. The sustained interest in these studies since the Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893 indicates that the time is ripe for such an effort. It is hoped that the course of study will also find favor with teachers of religion and ethics of all denominations; and particularly with those who as missionaries or teachers are likely to come in contact with non-Christian cults, and to whom an understanding of their philosophical bases and the nobler phases of their thought should be regarded as an indispensable preparation for their work. It may be well to add the assurance that no propaganda of any special system will be attempted. The purpose of the instruction is entirely unsectarian."

The Paris Parliament of Religions in 1900.—Professor John Henry Barrows has an interesting article in the *Congregationalist* of June 18, describing the history and present condition of the project for a parliament of religions in Paris in connection with the exhibition of 1900. He says that the Chicago parliament of religions aroused great interest in France; articles were published in newspapers and in leading reviews, and the question

began to be raised whether the coming exposition did not offer the opportunity for a similar congress. The difficulties were chiefly two: first, the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church in Europe; and, second, the question whether there was enough vital religion in France to save the parliament from ridicule and to make it a powerful instrument for the propagation of true religion.

In regard to the first problem, it was found that the number of the Catholic leaders who were interested in such an enterprise was not small or insignificant. An article appeared in the *Revue de Paris* written by the Abbé Victor Charbonnel, in which the parliament was urged from a very high point of view, and the assurance of Cardinal Gibbons was announced that the Pope was in sympathy with it. That article aroused a good deal of interest, and adverse comment was made from some important members of the Roman Catholic clergy. The Archbishop of Paris pronounced against the plan and a letter was published from Pope Leo, which appeared to show that he was not in favor of Roman Catholic participation in the European parliament. In the summer of 1895, Professor Barrows spent a few days in Paris, commending the plan and calling attention to the necessity that the Roman Catholic Church in France coöperate if the parliament was to be a success. In the spring of 1896 he visited Paris again by invitation, and gave an address before a distinguished company upon the subject of religion and human fraternity. This address was listened to by some of the most distinguished scholars and religionists of Paris of every shade of belief and opinion. A distinguished Roman Catholic layman presided, and Roman Catholic priests and abbés were seen among the audience. Professor Barrows endeavored to show that religion was coming to be a unifying force, and that such a parliament might be made a splendid propaganda for true Christianity. He declared that the American parliament never once dreamed that all religions were equally good. He urged the union of Christian people in France and Europe in the preparation for a parliament at Paris. On other occasions and opportunities during his stay at this time Professor Barrows was enabled to make the idea and purpose of the contemplated gathering clear to many who hitherto had been either uncertain or opposed to it. Roman Catholics and Protestants of high position and influence assured him of their sympathy and coöperation.

The deep interest taken by Paris journals in his visit and in the work of the parliament gives reason to believe that there is a beginning of a real movement in this direction. Professor Barrows feels that such a parliament must concern itself chiefly with the applications of religion to the moral and intellectual life of mankind; that it must be carried on independent of the French government; and that the Roman Catholic clergy who are in favor of it must for the present remain in the background. He feels, however, that the amount and character of the sympathy that it has received from France is an extraordinarily remarkable fact, and even if the parliament should not be

held, he declares that the present hopeful temper of the best religious minds in Paris is itself a chief marvel of these closing days of the century.

Comparative Religion in the Universities, 1896-7.—The May number of THE BIBLICAL WORLD contained a conspectus of the courses offered in the universities for the years 1895-6. The early publication of the manual of courses offered in American Universities next year, 1896-7, entitled *Graduate Courses*, renders possible the publication at this time of the courses offered for the coming year. A comparison of these courses with those of the preceding year is not particularly encouraging. Two or three things may be remarked about it. 1) Comparative religion is not extending with any great rapidity in our universities. There are really only five institutions where serious work is done in this subject by men devoting their attention to it. These are The University of Chicago, Cornell University, Harvard University, The University of the City of New York, and Yale University; and of these only two seem to offer anything more than general courses, limited to lectures for half a year. 2) In institutions where there is no chair for this discipline, comparatively little is being done in the special departments of study where naturally the subject of the history of the particular religion or religions would be offered. Very few courses, for example, are offered in the history of the religions of Greece and Rome, which certainly to the classical departments in our universities ought to be a matter of interest. Now and then a course in Germanic Mythology is given, and Harvard seems to be the only institution where the Semitic religions are treated in connection with the Department of Semitic Languages. 3) To the list of institutions given last May in THE BIBLICAL WORLD there are two added, Columbia University and Wellesley College: in the former, Professor A. V. W. Jackson, the eminent Avestan scholar, offers a course on Zoroaster and Buddha, while the subject of the philosophy of religion is added to the curriculum of Wellesley.

It is perfectly evident that the friends of this new discipline must come closer together, and must urge more frequently and publicly the importance of this study, if anything is to be accomplished for its extension in our American universities. Is the time come for the establishment of a journal devoted exclusively to this subject, in which those who believe in the future of Comparative Religion may have an opportunity to show their faith by their works?

Brown University—

Professor Everett, Philosophy of Religion; Professor Williams, German Mythology.

The University of Chicago—

Professor Goodspeed, The Religions of the Semites, Primitive Buddhism, Comparative Theology (Seminar); Professor Barrows, Relations of

Christianity to the Other Religions; Dr. Buckley, Outline History of Religion, Science of Religion, Philosophy of Religion; Mr. Coffin, Modern Sects of Hinduism.

Columbia University—

Professor Jackson, Zoroaster and Buddha.

Cornell University—

Professor Seth, Relations of Morality and Religion; Professor Tyler, History of Religions, Philosophy of Religion, History and Philosophy of Religion (Seminar).

Harvard University—

Professor Everett, Psychological Basis of Religious Faith, Comparative Religion; Professor Toy, History of Hebrew Religion Compared with Other Semitic Religions, History of Spanish Califate, The Talmud; Professor Allen, Religion and Worship of the Greeks; Mr. Parker, Roman Stoicism; Dr. Gulik, Greek Mythology.

Michigan University—

Professor Lloyd, Philosophy of Religion.

University of Minnesota—

Professor Breda, Norse Mythology.

University of the City of New York—

Professor MacCracken, Philosophy of Theism; Professor Ellinwood, Comparative Religion (two courses), Philosophy of Religion.

Princeton College—

Professor Patton, Theism; Professor Shields, Harmony of Science and Religion.

Wellesley College—

Professor Morgan, Philosophy of Religion.

Western Reserve University—

Dr. Hulme, German Mythology; Professor Curtis, Greek Philosophy and its Relation to the Rise of Christianity, Introduction to the History and Philosophy of Religion.

Yale University—

Dr. Fairbanks, Greek Worship and Belief, Inscriptions Relating to Greek Religion; Professor Ladd, Modern Pantheism and Pessimism.

Notes and Opinions.

The Passage of the Red Sea.—Major General Tulloch, of the British Army, has read before the Victoria Institute a paper which appears in a recent number of the *Transactions* of the Institute, giving his observations upon the place and manner of the Exodus from personal examinations of the topography of the region. It was his good fortune to witness on Lake Menzaleh the driving back of the water by a strong east wind similar to the phenomenon mentioned in Exodus, and he holds that while the Exodus could not have taken place at this lake, a similar phenomenon could have been accomplished at the northern end of what is the present Great Bitter Lake. He recognizes only two possible roads out of Egypt, the northern road running to the south of Lake Menzaleh, which was the great road leading into Asia, and a possibly more southerly route between lakes Timsah and Balah, where there is a high ridge or plateau. He thinks that there is no question that in an earlier period the arm of the Red Sea known as the Gulf of Suez ran up as far as the Bitter lakes, if not also to Lake Timsah, and that as the Israelites passed down the Wady Tumilat they started either to take the northern road, or the road just north of Timsah, but turning southward they at once had the Gulf of Suez on their left and were in danger both of being caught between the sea and the mountains and of being without water. He holds that their march was halted just opposite the northern end of the Great Bitter Lake and that here the east wind accomplished the result which the account describes. He rejects the view that the passage could have been made at Shalouf or at the narrows between the two Bitter lakes. He concludes by saying that "from an ordinary military examination of the actual district, and then considering what its state was in ancient times, it will be seen that the simple Bible narrative is evidently a very graphic and correct account of what really took place." Professor Hull, the chairman, felt that the writer had not emphasized the miraculous character of the event. He would hold that the Red Sea came up as far as Timsah, and that the Israelites crossed where the water was of considerable depth, and that it was through a miraculous interposition that the Israelites were obliged to "have a passage hewn for them through the water;" it required something more than an accidental east wind to clear a passage. General Tulloch claimed that he intended not to minimize the miraculous element, but only to explain the statements of the narrative in Exodus. An excellent map illustrating the scene is furnished with the article.

Book Reviews.

Introduction to the Synoptic Gospels. By PATON J. GLOAG, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1895. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. Pp. xviii+298. Price \$3.

By the publication of this work Dr. Gloag completes the series of volumes in New Testament Introduction which he began in 1870, and thus places in the hands of English speaking students of the New Testament one more "Introduction." Readers of the former volumes will be prepared to find evidences of wide reading, caution in judgment and fairness in statement and they will not be disappointed.

The present volume is divided into four parts, a general introduction to the synoptic gospels, and a separate introduction to each of them. The general introduction deals chiefly with the relation of the three gospels to one another and their sources. Its statement of the elements of the problem is succinct and clear, and its sketch of the solutions which have been proposed is informing. The author is very cautious in the presentation of his own view. He regards the statements of Papias concerning Matthew and Mark as referring to our present gospels, and hence maintains the apostolic authorship of our present first gospel (pp. 71-96). He regards the oral gospel as an important source of our written gospels, but as insufficient to account for all the facts. He is inclined to believe that both Matthew and Luke saw and used the gospel of Mark (p. 50), but yet regards the question as one that permits no positive answer (p. 228). He is positive that neither did Matthew use Luke nor Luke Matthew (p. 50). He assigns an early date to all the synoptic gospels. He inclines to the suggestion of Birks that Mark's gospel was written at Cæsarea about the year 48. Matthew he believes to have been written between 55 and 60. Luke, he maintains, wrote at Cæsarea, toward the end of Paul's imprisonment there, *i. e.*, about the year 60.

These opinions are in part those to which sober scholarship in general is tending, in part they are quite different from the general trend of scholarly opinion. In his belief that Mark's gospel is the chief source of Matthew and Luke, but that the latter two are entirely (or almost entirely) independent of each other, Gloag will find many to agree with him. In his dating of the gospels, however, he stands almost alone, and is, we are compelled to believe, without good evidence for his opinion. To speak in round numbers, he has probably put Matthew a decade, and Mark and Luke two decades, too early.

The objections to the earlier dates are hardly adequately answered, nor the evidence for the later dates allowed due weight. We cannot suppress the conviction that, especially in the study of the first gospel, Dr. Gloag has not gone deep enough even for the purposes of an introduction. Insight into the thought and purpose of the book such, *e. g.*, as Kübel shows in his *Handbuch zum Evangelium Matthäus*, a thorough study of Matthew's quotations from the Old Testament, a diligent and detailed comparison of the text of Matthew with that of the other synoptists—we do not venture to say that Gloag does not possess such insight, or has not made such study, but we are compelled to confess that his book does not seem to us to afford evidence of it. Indeed it must be said of the volume in general that it gives little evidence of original investigation contributing new data for the solution of the problem. It is apparently not so much an attempt to solve the problem at first hand as to decide among various solutions already proposed. Such works have their own distinct place and definite value. There was need for such a work in English on the synoptic gospels. If the present book has little in it for specialists who are themselves working at the synoptic problem first hand, it has a great deal that is very useful for the much larger class of bible students, including ministers, Sunday school teachers, and intelligent Christians generally, who wish to gain a general knowledge of the whole problem, and to view it through the eyes of a well-read, cautious, and fair-minded scholar. Such readers will need no other warning than that Dr. Gloag is probably sometimes more cautious than judicial, and that his opinions on some matters, notably on the date of the gospels, will accordingly require revision.

A few minor errors have escaped correction. Akhman is printed for Akhmim on p. 13 in the text and in a footnote. The statement on p. 15 that two manuscripts of the Arabic version of Tatian's Diatessaron were *discovered* by Ciasca, the one in the Vatican library, the other in the Borgian Museum, is not exactly accurate regarding either of them. The existence of the Vatican manuscript had been known to scholars for a long time; Ciasca was moved to call fresh attention to it by the publication in 1881 of Zahn's attempt to restore the Diatessaron from Ephraem's Commentary. The Borgian manuscript was sent from Egypt to the Museum in 1886, as a present from its owner, Halim Dos Gali, the gift being made at the suggestion of Antonios Morcos, Visitor Apostolic of the Catholic Copts, to whom Ciasca had showed the Vatican copy when Morcos was in Rome earlier in the same year.

E. D. B.

Current Literature.

BOOKS.

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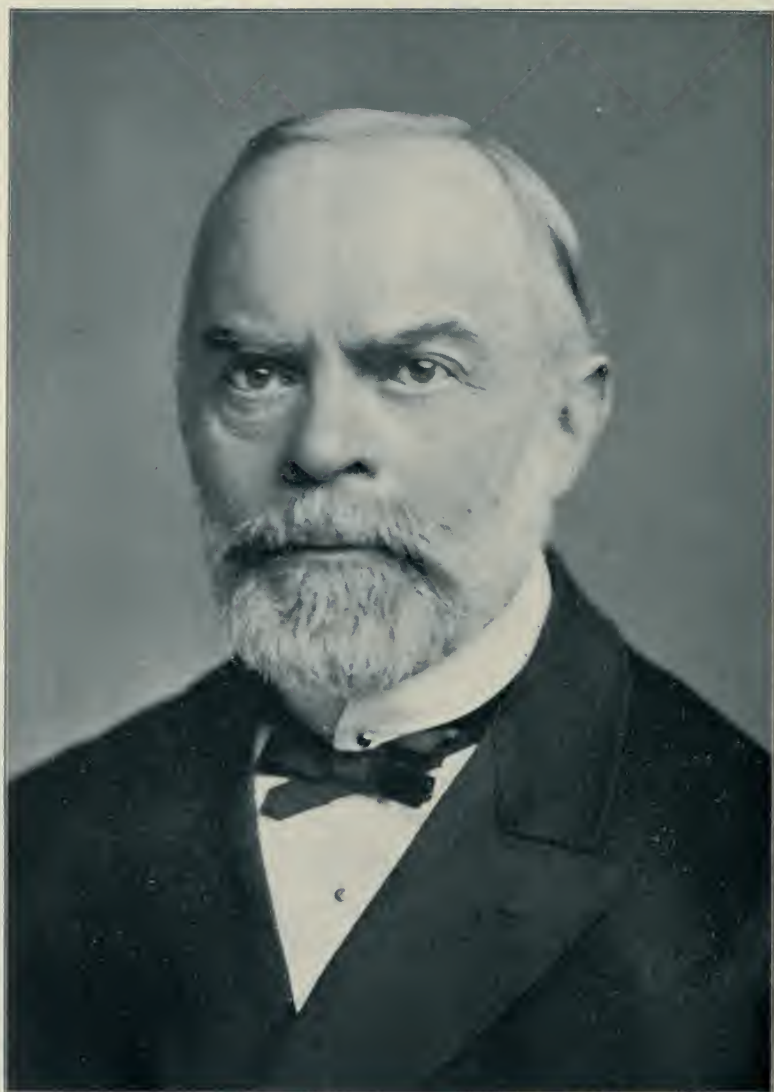
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BERNHARD WEISS.

By JAMES HARDY ROPES,
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PROFESSOR (KARL PHILIPP) BERNHARD WEISS, whose textbooks have made him well known wherever New Testament study is earnestly prosecuted with modern methods, came, like most German theologians and pastors, out of a pastor's family. His father was Dr. George Bernhard Weiss, a pastor and churchman of long service and high esteem at Königsberg in East Prussia. There the son was born June 20, 1827, and at the University of Königsberg, as well as at Halle and Berlin, he studied theology from 1844 to 1848, being especially influenced by I. A. Dörner, who was professor of systematic theology at Königsberg in those years. Weiss became privat-docent at Königsberg in 1852, and was advanced after five years to be assistant-professor (*professor-extraordinarius*). In 1863 he accepted a call to be professor of the New Testament at Kiel. In the eleven years at Königsberg he laid the foundation for the work of his life. His interesting introductory lecture at the very opening of his academic career in 1852 was on the Relation of Exegesis to Biblical Theology,¹ and sets forth the lines on which he has since

¹It is to be found in the *Deutsches Zeitschrift für Christliche Wissenschaft und Christliches Leben*, 1852, pp. 303 ff.

worked. It was a time when the task of biblical theology was not so clearly defined as, thanks in good measure to Weiss himself, it has now become, but the young instructor lays down distinctly and correctly the principles of the discipline. Each New Testament author must be interpreted by his own writings, and the different types of teaching must be set forth in distinction from one another, but the science must not fail to show their relation and development ("*biblische Dogmengeschichte*"), nor to expound their underlying unity ("*biblische Dogmatik*"); the basis of the study must be the most exact and painstaking exegesis.

The first-fruits of this conception of the student's duty appeared in 1855 in his book on the Petrine Doctrine ("*Der petrinische Lehrbegriff*"), which was followed in 1859 by a commentary on Philipians, and in 1862 by a monograph on the Johannean Doctrine ("*Der johanneische Lehrbegriff*"). In these same years Weiss had also published in the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* several noteworthy articles, including (1861) one on the Origin of the Synoptic Gospels, in which he outlined the solution of the synoptic problem which he later treated more in detail in his large commentaries on Mark (1861) and Matthew (1876). Even though students may depart considerably from his conclusions, Weiss's investigation of the synoptic problem will cause him to be permanently remembered with respect and gratitude. The strong points of his work have been his thorough preparation for the task in the mastery of every observation that had been made on the subject, his determination to spare himself no pains in the study of the innumerable detailed questions, and, in the main, his sobriety of judgment. The theory which he has worked out is that the canonical Gospels of Matthew and Luke consist largely of a combination of the canonical Gospel of Mark with the "Logia" of the apostle Matthew, and that our Gospel of Mark consists of recollections of Peter's teachings combined with occasional pieces drawn from the "Logia." Another article in *Studien und Kritiken*, at about this time, was a criticism of Credner's posthumous *History of the New Testament Canon*, in which Weiss laid down the main features of the views on that subject which he published many

years later in developed form in his *Introduction to the New Testament*.

Weiss stayed at Kiel until 1877, when he was called to Berlin. At Kiel he wrote the commentaries on Mark and Matthew above referred to. In them he undertook to give special attention to three points, textual criticism, a continuous interpretation as opposed to mere scholia, and the study of the synoptic parallels. They are somewhat distinguished in these respects from Meyer's Commentaries, even in the recent editions of the latter which Weiss himself has edited. At this time, too, he published his *Text-book of the Biblical Theology of the New Testament*, which has maintained itself as the best book on the subject and has passed through many editions in German and English. Its merits are those of all Weiss's work, careful thoroughness, great impartiality, conservative judgment. Its defects will be differently assessed by different persons. Some would complain that the decision of questions of authorship and date which underlies the discussions is often too conservative, others would think that he represents Jesus and even Paul too much as regardful of the Jewish law, still others would find that the "genetic" relation of the types of thought to one another is not sufficiently grasped, and that the treatment, lost in details, is mechanical and fails to draw a vivid picture of the thought which it discusses; probably few find the book easy reading. Nevertheless it will hold its place as a very honorable and characteristic monument of the patient, honest study of the New Testament which has characterized this century.

In Kiel Weiss continued to write many articles and reviews on New Testament subjects for the *Studien und Kritiken* and the *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*. At Berlin he was entrusted with the arduous work of providing for the successive new editions of Meyer's Commentary, many volumes of which he himself thoroughly revised. In 1882 appeared his *Life of Jesus*, perhaps better in details than as a whole, but strong in its consistent use of the sources, sound scholarship, and deep religious earnestness. In 1886 one of the very best of Weiss's books, his *Introduction to the New Testament* nobly completed the series of his systematic

writings. In this the sketch of the history of the canon was an important step in advance ; the thorough discussions of the several books are full of learning and set forth in outline the various views and the ground of Weiss's conclusions forcibly and instructively. He held to the genuineness of all the New Testament epistles except 2 Peter, and maintained that the apostle John wrote the fourth Gospel, the three Epistles, and the Revelation, and that Luke wrote the third Gospel and Acts.

Weiss's life has thus been that of a hardworking scholar, its periods marked by professorships, its achievements by books. But it has also been more than that. At Königsberg he had active pastoral duty. A deep interest in practical evangelization has called out, especially in his later years, various essays on the problems of the " Inner Mission," and in Berlin, since 1880, his time has been largely occupied by his duties as one of the chief expert advisers ("*vortragender Rath*") to the Minister of Education on matters connected with theological education in Prussia. The broad inclusiveness in both directions of the Prussian theological faculties, the firm insistence on the professors' right to independent thought and expression, is said to be due in no small measure to Weiss. In 1894 he had conferred on him one of the highest distinctions for theologians in the gift of the Emperor, the title of *Wirklicher Oberkonsistorialrath*.

Weiss's own theological position may perhaps be called that of a moderate conservative.¹ By the extreme orthodox Lutherans he is looked on with suspicion ; by the so-called critical school he is often (though unjustly) thought of as a mere apologist for traditional views. He is perhaps heartily in sympathy with no one of the parties whose eager polemics make German theological life at present so exciting. His son, Johannes Weiss, now professor of the New Testament at Marburg, who possesses a good share of some of his father's most characteristic traits, is usually classed with the " Ritschlians."

Advancing years and public duties seem hardly to have dimin-

¹ Weiss's actual views as gathered from his writings are set forth in a valuable article by Professor E. Y. Hincks, "Weiss's Theology," in the *Andover Review*, 1884, Vol. I, pp. 253-270.

ished Weiss's scientific productiveness. Besides continual work on new editions of Meyer's Commentaries he has in the last five years published a series of books on the Apocalypse, the Acts, and the catholic Epistles, consisting of brief exegetical notes of great value, associated with an important and very elaborate discussion of the textual problems, intended to show that the oldest uncial manuscripts are after all the only sources from which a critical text, as distinguished from a history of the text, can be constructed. Although he is approaching his seventieth year it may well be hoped that he still has other useful books in prospect.

A kind, fatherly manner corresponds in Professor Weiss to a real goodness of heart. He is still a vigorous lecturer, criticising his opponents and expounding his own views with impressive earnestness, and his seminar is crowded with students, anxious to catch something of the secret of his thorough and minute scholarship. His active life has covered a half century of great increase of interest in biblical study all over the world, and to the progress of that study he has contributed as much as any other one man. The motive and spirit of his work cannot be better illustrated than by a sentence from the preface to the first edition of his *Introduction*: "My chief interest in New Testament Introduction is neither criticism nor apologetics, but the actual introduction into a living, historical understanding of the Scriptures."

THE PROBLEM OF SUFFERING.

By PROFESSOR THOMAS C. CHAMBERLIN, LL.D.,
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AMONG the multitude of discussions of the problem of suffering there is one which so far transcends all others in its intensity, its dramatic power, its luxuriance of imagery, and its wealth of diction as to stand altogether by itself. Even if all superhuman elements be set aside, it still remains monumental. It is the natural point of departure of all later discussions, for though it led up to no declared solution, it opened out the question on lines so suggestive and so intense that they give alignment to the thought whenever it reverts to the theme. I need not say that I refer to the discussion of Job and his three friends.

To a layman this is additionally inviting as a point of departure in that there is little occasion to feel the restraints that spring from the delicacy attached to inspired writings; for little of the discussion has claim to inspiration. Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar were certainly not inspired; they were not even correct; not even approximately correct. In the outcome they were forced to make propitiatory offerings for their errors. Scarcely more can Job be regarded as inspired, though much more nearly correct in his positions. It was against him that the challenge from the whirlwind was directed—"Who is this that darkeneth council by words without knowledge?" And to this there was added a catechism the severity of which has never been surpassed. Every question was a chastisement. At the close, Job confessed that he had spoken things he understood not. To a layman, it seems doubtful if any part of the wonderful discussion has any claims to inspiration, under any rational interpretation, except this marvelous catechism. And *this* seems rather a majestic development of a great problem than a specific answer

to it. In view of this, our discussion may take its departure from this oriental disputation of Job and his three friends without serious embarrassment from the delicacy attaching to writings held to be inspired.

The burden of this oriental discussion lay on the proposition that afflictions such as Job suffered, loss of property, loss of children, and disease, are brought down by personal sin—"Who ever perished being innocent?" Between this extreme punitive view and Job's strong intrenchment behind divine responsibility and human submission—"The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away,"—the contest wavered to and fro, no disputant holding firmly and consistently to his own position through all phases of attack and defense. Back of all, concealed from the disputants, was the celestial deployment of the incident in which the whole appears as a test of the integrity of Job.

Confining ourselves strictly to the humanistic point of view, as befits laymen, there are certain oversights and limitations of the discussion that seem to us very vital, though to the ancient and oriental mind they might easily appear negligible. The point of view throughout was closely and narrowly personal. The subject was rather the problem of Job than the problem of suffering. It did not even embrace all the human elements concerned—the seven sons, the three daughters, and the many servants slain. In the prelude there is indeed recognition of the sons and daughters and of possible error on their part, and a passing allusion to them appears in the discussion, but they are essentially lost from view. The calamity to the servants is ignored as a factor of the case. Beyond this, 7000 sheep were slain, and the exigencies of capture, to say nothing of the presumptive recklessness and hard-heartedness of the robbers, doubtless added much of suffering to the cattle upon which the Sabæans fell.

The discussion was thus much less broad than the calamity. Wide as was its range in some respects, and broad as was its sweep, it failed to cover the elements of even the immediate incident on which it was founded. That embraced not merely the calamities of one, but the misfortunes of more than 7000

living, sentient creatures capable of suffering. Their sufferings were doubtless not alike nor equal, but they all call for recognition in an attempt to interpret the meaning of the incident.

There was some attempt to extend the inquiry backward, but this scarcely went beyond the putative sins of Job that were urged by his friends as the cause of the calamity. We can scarcely say that there was any attempt to go back to the origin of such afflictions. And if there had been, it would not have been possible for them to follow backward the history of suffering over any considerable part of its extent, much less to have made any approach to its beginning. It was not permitted to them to look backward through the vast ages that embraced the beginning and the growth of suffering and to interpret it in the light of its prolonged history.

Was it this that called forth the opening question of the catechism, "Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth?" Was it the purpose of this fundamental question to suggest that the basis of suffering was laid with the foundations of the earth, and that had Job witnessed the laying of these he would have learned the function of suffering? Were the following questions relative to the creatures that dwell on the earth, or the ordering of nature, intended further to suggest that in a knowledge of them may also be found light on the meaning of suffering? Was it the object of that majestic array of questions to point out a *line of inquiry*, as well as to reduce Job to becoming humility? Very possibly not. Very possibly there was no purpose of directing inquiry or even of rebuking Job for an error of method, but merely of impressing upon him the utter inadequacy of his knowledge for the right understanding of the events of which he was the subject. There seems rather more ground, indeed, for thinking that the questionings were designed to show that man's knowledge is too slight for the solution of such problems. But even if this be so, it would seem that increase of knowledge along the lines of deficiency, so trenchantly exposed, should help on to a better understanding of such problems, however much it might still fall short of complete adequacy. The very challenge which exposes the ignorance most effectively

stimulates a desire to remove it, and to go as far as possible toward meeting the conditions which the catechism suggests as prerequisites to an understanding of the matter.

Under either interpretation, therefore, it may not be more than following out the direct, or else the incidental, suggestions of the catechism to search among the foundations of the earth, and to study the creatures that have dwelt upon it, for light upon this dark problem. In the end, perchance, we may be, like Job, fit subjects for a like humiliating catechism, but if so, we may perhaps also remember that Job, notwithstanding all his faults, was prospered afterwards. A sincere questioning of the ways of the Almighty, however faulty the inquiry may be, and however much it may justly provoke rebuke for its incompetency, may yet lead to an appropriate reward, because it is an earnest striving for the higher truth.

What does a search among the foundations of the earth reveal respecting suffering?

1. A large part of all the suffering since the foundation of the world was felt before man appeared in it. I say a large part. This is certainly safe. If we had some trustworthy way of measuring suffering, a careful and candid weighing of the evidence would probably lead to the conclusion that *much more than half*—perhaps *very* much more than half—of all the suffering which the history of the globe has witnessed transpired before man became one of its inhabitants.

2. Not only was a large part of the sum total of suffering experienced before man existed, but nearly all the great types of suffering were experienced. Job's suffering, so far as it entered into the discussion, fell under three heads: the loss of possessions, the loss of offspring, and bodily pain. It may be safely said that all these forms existed long before man came upon the earth. There is no ground to doubt that in thousands of instances animals have been robbed of their possessions by the casualties of nature and by the predaceous assaults of the animal proto-types of the Sabæans. It is true, we are not accustomed to accord to the animals that right of discovery and of possession which we arrogate to ourselves; but does not the bird own its

nest as truly as the man owns his house? Does not the predaceous animal own its captive as truly as the predaceous man owns the animal he has trapped? Are not the earnings of labor as justly the grounds of possession to one organism as to another? Birds, fishes, insects, and other creatures who construct homes for themselves and their offspring doubtless, in unnumbered instances, lost their possessions and suffered because thereof, in their degree, much as Job suffered.

There is still less ground to doubt that parents were robbed of their offspring and that they suffered anguish on account of this, for parental care, parental solicitude, parental sorrow are expressed as sharply and unmistakably among many of our fellow animals as among ourselves, though the degree of intensity may be somewhat less.

Still less ground is there for doubting that thousands of creatures living millions of years before the appearance of man, suffered bodily pain; as well from disease as from accident and attack, and this suffering reached all degrees of intensity possible to them, not even being limited, as in the case of Job, to the sparing of life. It may be concluded, therefore, with the utmost safety, that the forms of suffering through which Job passed, had been experienced by preanthropic creatures for long, long ages before Job and his kind had come into existence. Though doubtless much greater in intensity, his sufferings did not differ in type from theirs, save perhaps in the infliction of Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar.

It seems therefore safe to conclude that nothing connected with human action was the cause of the primal introduction of suffering. No explanation of its existence or of its function seems to find a good basis in acts that are peculiar to man. There may be questions relating to special cases and special sufferings which are purely human questions, but the fundamental problem of the function of suffering must find its answer in a wider field and an earlier age. There is, therefore, peculiar pertinence, as well as great dramatic power, in the questionings that roused the oriental philosophers from their broodings over a special case of suffering, and cited them back to the "laying of

the foundations of the earth, when the morning stars sang together," for the origin is far back, and the purpose is connected with the beginnings of life on the globe, if indeed its origin does not lie even farther back in the very nature of the organization of the universe.

3. So far as we can see, however, from ordinary lines of evidence, there was a time in the history of the earth when there was no suffering upon it. There were long eras when no sentient creature, such as we now know and recognize, existed upon it. Then that rest in unconsciousness, for which Job prayed, was the common lot of all the earth. Activity and organization were indeed in progress, but attended apparently by neither sensation nor suffering. Organisms were coming into being, were growing, and were being destroyed. They were surpassingly beautiful; they were wonderful in their structures, but, so far as we can learn, they possessed no sensation. This interpretation may be an error, but it represents the state of current thought. We call them crystalline organizations and throw them into a lower category because we suppose them to lack sensation and with it the basis of suffering. By this classification and by this ranking of organisms rivaling living creatures in symmetry, and beauty, and marvelous structure, we unconsciously set the seal of our judgment upon the rank of that which carries with it sensation and thereby the possibility, if not, indeed, the necessity, of suffering.

4. Even after suffering came into existence, one great branch of living things developed along lines which kept it free from pain, so far as we can certainly learn, and it has continued so through all the ages up to the present day. This is not formed of dead matter as we falsely style the crystal. It is living, but living without apparent sensation of the higher sort and presumably without suffering. I do not need to say that I refer to plants. It appears, therefore, that both living and non-living organisms may exist without the basis of suffering and without any experience of suffering and that their history is at least as long and their numbers at least as great as the organisms that possess sensation, with its attendant pains and pleasures. Two

of the three major groups of organisms possess existence, growth, and activity without obvious suffering.

5. In the other great branch of living things, suffering was introduced at an extremely early date and has increased through the ages. Not only does it appear to have increased because the number of sentient creatures has increased, but because the creatures, for the greater part, have increased their individual capacities for suffering and their liabilities to suffering.

6. Now at once we meet the vital question—Did this increase of suffering go hand in hand with a decadence of the organisms as though it were the result, or the punishment, of degeneration or did it go hand in hand with an advancement and improvement of the organisms? In individual instances and in special types there was doubtless an increase of suffering corresponding with degeneration, but in the larger view an increase of suffering appears to have run side by side with the progress of the organisms. Suffering seems, therefore, to be either the handmaid or the Nemesis of progress. Is it a handmaid or is it a Nemesis?

7. The notable thing in the development of the life-forms through all the past is their adaptation to take advantage of their environments or to protect themselves against it. Modification has followed modification unceasingly in the endeavor to secure advantage and escape disadvantage in the great struggle of life. In a certain sense it may be said that experiment has followed experiment unceasingly in the endeavor to secure the maximum good. There is no question that there was a constant endeavor to escape suffering. Device upon device was brought into use in the effort to protect the organism against it. Shells, scales, plates, hardened integuments, and armors of manifold forms and wonderful adaptation appeared and took part in the great experimentation. Some have survived; some have long since been discarded. But all these, together with a similar series of devices for concealment and deception, for swiftness and agility in escape, combined to show the constancy and the greatness of the endeavor.

But all these adaptations were not brought into use solely to escape suffering. The case is not a simple one. We need

to examine it somewhat more closely. Some of these devices were not simply and purely protective, and of those that were, it was not always suffering against which protection was sought. The most fundamental casualty against which protection was developed was the destruction of the species. It was absolutely necessary to avoid this or the series ended and the experiment terminated. An organization which failed on this point failed on all. If the perpetuity of the species was to be gained through suffering, whether the suffering were helpful or merely a necessary evil, the suffering was accepted and endured. A part of the protective devices were therefore directed to the preservation of the species without immediate reference to the pain involved or even the death of individuals.

Next to the perpetuity of the species—and a means toward it—was the protection of individuals against fatal or crippling disaster. The disaster might not necessarily be very painful, but the perpetuity of the individual was essential to everything beyond and was guarded even though the individual suffered more by the devices of escape or endurance than he would from fatal disaster. If an organism took the other alternative and chose the less painful casualty, he simply dropped out of the series and the experimentation went on with those that chose to live, though they suffered. The life series was thus continued solely with those which chose suffering rather than fatal disaster. The others constantly disappeared. As a consequence, whenever suffering could be substituted for destruction the inherent law of selection and survival elected it.

Thus far the tendency was to augment suffering by making it take the place of greater evils. But there also arose a series of devices for substituting a lesser suffering for a greater, for lessening the suffering while retaining its good offices. It is obvious that the earlier a danger is apprehended, the easier and surer the escape, if escape is at all possible. Whatever, therefore, quickened apprehension of danger and extended the range of anticipation, increased the chances of escape, reduced the likelihood of disaster or of more serious suffering. So the quick-

ening of sensitiveness in the outer parts quickened the perception of incoming dangers.

It is better to be so constituted as to learn quickly and keenly the possibilities of serious harm, although this knowledge come with tangible pain, than to go on without the warning pain and suffer the greater harm. It is better to feel the evil by the very first touch, on its very approach, as it were, and even to feel it keenly and painfully, than to experience the greater damage that comes from stolidity. It was better for the ancient animals to realize danger and escape, than to rest in complacency until completely in the power of impending evil. It is better for us that the finger tip should smart with the first touch of fire, than that we should go unwarned until it is crisp and smoking or actually aflame. What would become of the clear vision of the eye if motes and cinders fell painlessly upon it? How many of us would have failed to dash ourselves in pieces, if the pain of a fall, and the pain of a fear of a fall, had not deterred us from dealing recklessly with the law of gravitation? How many boys would have failed to whittle their fingers off if these had not been full of nerves and blood?

Early and painful contact with incoming dangers, while a source of immediate suffering, was a protection against greater ills. But beyond this there arose devices that reached out across space and forward across time and gave wider warning of coming ill. To be most effective this warning became a keener and keener apprehension until it arose to a declared fear, and fear and apprehension are forms of suffering. They are anticipatory suffering. That which may be suffered is suffered in imagination already. But the wounds of the imagination are slight and soon healed, and if they lead to the avoidance of the real and lasting suffering, there is a notable gain. And, besides, they have this advantage that they put time and space between the source of danger and the actual contact with it. The out-reaching senses are the chief agencies of this protective function. The approaching danger is seen far off. It is heard at a distance; it is sniffed on the incoming air.

Thus, in the great experimentation of the ages, if you will

allow me to so phrase it, organisms have endeavored to clothe themselves about with protective devices of greater and greater efficiency ; (1) to preserve the species even at the loss of individuals and the incurring of pain ; (2) to preserve individual life, even though suffering be the means ; (3) to give pain quicker action and wider range to secure its premonitory functions, and (4) to substitute lesser and more anticipatory pains for the greater and more immediate ones.

The spheres in which these devices severally act may be likened to concentric envelopes surrounding the vital centers of each creature. The outermost is all that space about the creature that is penetrated by his outreaching senses, his sight, his hearing, his smell. This is the sphere in which apprehension, fear, acts and protects by forewarning. It is the sphere of anticipatory suffering, the slightest in degree and the most effective in results, if followed by appropriate action. Next within this is the sphere of surface contact, the periphery of the organism, in which the tactile senses work and give the first experience of incoming attacks. This is the sphere of initial physical pain. Within this sphere lie the less vital parts surrounding and measurably guarding the most internal and most essential, which lie at the center. The progress of the ages has been marked by the extension of these spheres and by an increase of their efficiency through manifold devices.

For our present purpose, interest centers upon the devices adopted for the zones of contact between the organism and the exterior, the protecting devices of the immediate surface of the body. Here two great lines of experimentation have taken their departure. In the one protection was sought by armorings of manifold kind, plates, scales, shells, callous integuments and external coverings of various sorts, direct devices against the impact and the intrusion of harmful agencies ; a direct effort to protect the vital parts and prevent suffering by interposing callosities and armatures. In the other, quite on the contrary, the external surface was made more and more sensitive to give quicker knowledge and keener realization of threatened injury, and to stimulate the organism to its highest endeavors in resist-

ance or escape. This necessarily involved an increase of pain. Success, indeed, within limits, lay in the quickness and keenness of the suffering, and the quickness and vigor of the stimulated response to it. Here, then, are two great lines of endeavor running through the ages—the one exalting pain to greater and greater keenness and promptness, the other interposing callosities to reduce or neutralize it. It is interesting and suggestive to follow the history of these two systems as they run parallel through the great past, and to learn what is the testimony of the actual experience of millions of years respecting the relative value of pain-eliminating and pain-exalting devices.

Unfortunately, the very beginning is not revealed to us. At the time life first appeared in well-preserved forms the organisms were already protected by various external coverings and this line of devices was far advanced. They were also protected by more or less sensitive exteriors or by senses that reached out beyond them and gave apprehension of threatened harm. Both protective systems were therefore well inaugurated. Now, if pain and suffering are fundamental evils, we should expect to find that system which depended chiefly upon shields and callosities and deadened senses growing more and more in prevalence, while that system which gave greatest exposure and keenness to painful attacks would less and less abound until completeness of armor or completeness of insensibility to pain were reached. If this were not so, the law of the survival of the fittest would seem to be sorely at fault. What is the testimony of the rock layers of the earth's foundations? The two systems have *continued* through the ages. We may, therefore, safely assume that both represent a good. But the system of superior sensitiveness with superior liability to pain, and, with little doubt, greater actual experience of pain, has markedly gained in dominance. Not only have the organisms in which this system has its best expression risen into the places of leadership and rulership, but types that once possessed the armor system in high development have abandoned it and adopted the other, and this *change of system* is one of the most significant facts of life history. The cephalopods present an excellent source of illustration, for they have lived

through the whole known life history of the globe. When first made known to us they were well provided with protecting shells into which they could withdraw themselves with comparative safety in the presence of harm. In many cases the mouths of these shells were peculiarly closed in about the animal, so that he was especially walled around by a fortress of his own creation. The shield system in this type reached a high degree of perfection at a very early date, but, singularly enough, in the course of time the cephalopods more and more abandoned these close coverings and extended themselves on the outsides of their shells. To such an extent did this go that at length the positions of the parts became essentially reversed. That which was once an enveloping shell became an internal skeleton. The sensitive parts were thrown outwards more and more until they enveloped the insensible ones; and the animals exposed themselves more and more fully, as time went on, to discomforting contacts and painful assaults. The compensation seems to have lain in greater sensitiveness, leading on to greater mental activity, to greater intelligence, to greater adroitness, to greater competency to escape or avoid harm. They appear to have found it better to know the sources of harm and to avoid them, even through transient pain, than to be housed in against the minor ills and fall before the greater ones. In a somewhat like manner, the early fishes were clad in heavy armor. The later fishes are chiefly covered with thin scales. Some indeed with only naked integument. They seem to have found sensitiveness, intelligence, and agility better than armor. Man himself, expressing the highest evolution among living terrestrial things, exhibits the outcome of the experience of the ages in the highest degree. Without armorial protection, not only, but rendered sensitive in a high degree by an exceptional distribution of sensory nerves upon the surface for the purpose of receiving impressions from without, whether they be pleasurable or painful, he expresses the culmination of the sensory system with its possibilities and actualities of suffering.

In the vast experience of the ages, therefore, it is found, *by*

practical test, that the highest and best adaptation to the environment is that which utilizes pain as a protection.

We have thus far been dealing with common pain in its usual expressions because it is more tangible and its history can be better followed and its results withal better understood. But the same general conclusions appear to apply to the higher forms of suffering. The growth of maternal love developed maternal solicitude, and opened the way to maternal suffering when loss of the object of love was experienced, and this suffering is doubtless the keenest ever realized. But it is maternal solicitude more than anything else that preserves to maternal love the object of its affection and the joys of the affection. It is preservative and protective of the source of joy. In all the stages of its evolution, from the thoughtless abandonment of the egg in the lower types of animals up through the numerous devices which maternal solicitude has evolved for the safety and well being of its young, we have an impressive lesson of the close serviceability, if not necessary attendance, of the highest infliction upon the greatest affection.

It would appear, therefore, that mental and physical sufferings are fundamentally protective. In their main function they are preservative and instructive. They make for the salvation of the organism. Fundamentally, therefore, they belong to the category of the good and not of the evil. In an environment wholly different from ours it may be possible to imagine an order of things in which there should be no need for pain as a protection or a teacher, but things being as they are here with us its serviceability appears to be well declared by the experience displayed in the life history of the globe.

If we assume another point of view, pain may be looked upon as the inevitable antithesis of pleasure. Job could never suffer from loss of property if he had not had great possessions and had delight in them. If he had been indifferent to his possessions, he could not have been grieved at their loss. His suffering in this particular was wholly conditioned upon his antecedent condition of prosperity and delight of property. If he had not loved his children he could not have mourned their loss. It was the

great possession of this fundamental affection that was the necessary groundwork of anguish when the affection was traversed by disaster. It is parental love that gives parental solicitude and parental anguish. Its intensity is conditioned upon the strength and the inherent enjoyableness of the affection. If Job had not experienced the benefits of sensation he could not have had that form which constitutes pain. The intensity of the pain was conditioned upon the capability of sensation and was the measure of the value of the possession of sensation.

This far we have endeavored to consider suffering in its main function, ignoring particulars and exceptions. To these, however, in a candid view, it is necessary to turn, for though it be granted that suffering is generally and fundamentally protective, preservative, and helpful, is it true in all particulars and in all cases? Granted that fear is normally a forewarning, is fear in all cases, and to all degrees a good? Very clearly it is not, so far as we are able to see. Very possibly it might appear otherwise if our intellectual vision were indefinitely extended. But fear seems not infrequently to bring the very disaster it should normally forefend. The bird that is frightened and flies often fills the huntsman's sack, though fright and flight are its normal modes of escape. It is sometimes best to sit coolly in the grass and let the huntsman pass. Suffering sometimes of itself brings the death from which it would normally save. Parental solicitude, unwisely entertained and unwisely manifested, sometimes promotes the destruction of the loved son or daughter.

As the case now stands, therefore, seeing no further into the depths of these problems than we do, we seem led to conclude that fundamentally discomfort, pain, and suffering are promoters of good, or the inevitable antitheses of enjoyment, while, on the other hand, exceptionally and frequently, indeed, they are evils without any obvious recompense.

I say without *obvious* recompense. It may be that in the higher organization of sentient beings the recompense is to be found. Error teaches its appropriate lesson, though the actor may be without fault. The chastisement may be, or at least may seem to be, unfair to him who has fallen into error innocently.

There are accidents when nobody is to blame—so we say—so we think—so indeed it seems. But the moral effect of the accident on the community is to promote alertness and caution, and effort to the end that similar accidents may be forestalled in the future. The occasional painful results of misapplied parental solicitude may teach us that wisdom must go with love and may lead to a better apportionment of the intellectual and emotional factors of affection. So in divers ways we recognize that there is some compensation for individual misfortunes in the larger moral effects. But it is hard to realize that it is adequate, or that, though it be a compensation to the wider circle affected by it, it is a compensation to the immediate sufferer. Here we seem forced to fall back upon Job's impregnable position—"Shall we receive good at the hands of God and shall we not receive evil?" On the whole, the institution of suffering brings us good. Shall we not accept as cheerfully as we may its fragment of ill?

Our practical attitude towards suffering is perhaps best illustrated by comparison. There is a close analogy between suffering and labor. Indeed labor to many is a species of suffering. Labor is the necessary condition of certain attainments. We have no difficulty in recognizing it as fundamentally a good, though it has sometimes been thought a curse. But it is not a good desired in itself and for itself. It is our constant effort to reduce it, to secure our ends with as little labor as possible; and this is right. The progress of civilization is marked by the lessening of labor in proportion to the fruitage of labor.

So with suffering. It is not a good to be sought in itself. It is to be eliminated. It is to be reduced to its lowest terms. It is to be anticipated and avoided. The sensory system is to be enlarged in its functions until it shall reach out into every part of our environment and foresee all possible harm and point the way of easy escape. The lighter anticipatory sufferings are to more and more take the place of the severer realized sufferings. The reach of warning vision is to extend itself farther and farther and deeper and deeper until no part of the earth is beyond its penetration. Already our electric eye sees the Asiatic pestilence while it is yet on the other side of the globe. Already our

microscopic vision discovers the microbean invader before he comes within harmful reach. And so, by the extension of the higher attributes that spring from exalted sensitiveness, the suffering to which it renders us liable may be reduced to its lowest ratio to the associated good of which it is the condition. And so, like labor, it may indeed continue to exist and to increase, but the associated good will increase more and more abundantly.

We have seen that from the earliest date in the known history of the earth there have been organisms that grew into marvelous beauty and continued long existences without obvious sensation or suffering, without desire, or pleasure, or pain. This is the Nirvana of matter.

We have seen that from an early date there have been living organisms which have grown into forms of wonderful interest and lived their lives without obvious sensation or suffering, without desire, or pleasure, or pain. This is the Nirvana of life.

We have seen that from an early date there have been organisms that have both enjoyed and suffered and that they have waged a long, long battle with the problem of securing the greatest good with the least suffering. We have found the effort lying along two great lines—the reduction of sensation and the exaltation of sensation—and both these lines are still running on into the future. And today we see our own race divided by two great aspirations representative of these historic lines, an oriental, striving to eliminate desire and pain and pleasure, leading on to a human Nirvana; an occidental, striving to exalt and intensify the sentient touch until it shall reach all possible things, and, by apprehending all possible things, anticipate and reduce suffering to a scarcely less than pleasurable foresight and avoidance of harm, while happiness shall be exalted and extended into a terrestrial Millennium and, at length, a celestial Heaven.

"THE FAITH OF JESUS CHRIST."

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PAUL carefully discriminates between "faith in Christ" and "the faith of Christ." The former he regards as the conscious effort of the believer, the latter as the spontaneous utterance of the indwelling Christ. These contrasted points of view are clearly marked by the sequence of thought in Gal. 2:16:

"A man is not justified by the works of the law,
but by the faith of Jesus Christ ;
we have believed in Jesus Christ,
that we might be justified by the faith of Christ."

Paul here attributes justification to a faith that works through but does not originate with man. Faith viewed merely as a conclusion of the intellect or a voluntary act of the will might be regarded as a "work of the law." Guarding against this misconception, Paul contrasts with "works of the law" "the faith of Jesus Christ," instead of using an expression emphasizing the human element in faith. But lest this faith should be supposed quite independent of the believer's coöperation, he immediately adds: "We have believed in Jesus Christ." Yet again to avoid the ascription of faith exclusively to the human initiative he continues (paraphrasing): This belief of ours is not a mere product of human volition, but the act of Christ in us "that we might be justified by the faith of Christ." With Paul, then, faith is the synthesis of Christ's gift and man's effort.

In the following verses, especially v. 20, the apostle consistently with the above conclusion presents Christ as the one who "loved me," "gave himself for me," "liveth in me," and thus impels me to ascribe my life to "the faith of the Son of God," fitly called elsewhere "the author and finisher of our faith."

The Jesus of the evangelists evoked the faith of his disciples

by his miraculous power as healer or wonder-worker, by the appeal to Messianic prophecy, by the authority and self-evidencing excellence of his teaching, by the attraction of his marvelous love for the lost.

In those who know Jesus only through the gospels and the historic effects of his teachings faith is similarly aroused. With Paul, however, this is but the starting point of faith, and that as proximate and not ultimate cause. With him faith passes into a union with Christ, mystical but not vague, vital and not formal, permanently sustained by the living Christ, not dependent wholly on man's fitful purpose.

Yet Paul fully recognizes both in Gal. 2:16-20 and elsewhere the human element in faith. To the jailor he says: "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ," calling on him to heed the testimony of a miracle and initiate by his own act a life of dependence on Jesus for salvation. So also he describes faith in Rom. 4:5; 9:13; 10:11, 14; Acts 13:39; 22:19; 1 Tim. 1:16. It is to be noted, however, that in these passages he either distinctly refers to the beginning (chronologically, not logically, considered) of the Christian life in the uninitiated or else describes its foundation in faith, considering the agent rather than the author, the result rather than the operation of faith.

But when Paul dwells upon the origin of faith or its relation to the development of the spiritual life he is wont to ascribe it to Christ rather than the believer. Thus in eight instances he uses the phrase "the faith of Jesus Christ," or its equivalent (Rom. 3:22; Gal. 2:16; 3:22; Phil. 3:9; Gal. 2:20; Eph. 4:13; Rom. 3:26; Eph. 3:12).

Paul's dogmatic teaching elsewhere concerning faith quite accords with the use of this expression, *e. g.*, Eph. 2:8, "not of yourselves, it is the gift of God;" 6:23, "faith from . . . the Lord Jesus Christ;" Rom. 12:3, "God hath dealt to every man the measure of faith;" 1 Cor. 12:9, "faith by the same spirit;" Gal. 5:22, "fruit of the spirit is faith;" Rom. 10:17, "faith should stand in the power of God." *Cf.* also 1 Tim. 1:14; 3:12; 2 Tim. 1:13; 3:15.

Similarly Paul attributes to sovereign grace, "peace" (Eph.

6:23), "hope" (Gal. 5:5), "love" (Rom. 5:5), indeed the whole cycle of Christian excellences (Gal. 5:22; 1 Cor. 12:4-11).

"Yea, every virtue they possess,
And every conquest won,
And every thought of holiness
Are His and His alone."

If we turn to the gospels for confirmation of this doctrine, we must not expect to find the same fulness of teaching in Jesus as in Paul. Our Lord spoke to beginners chiefly, while the apostle wrote to those who were somewhat advanced in the Christian life and were, moreover, living under the dispensation of the Holy Spirit. Yet a gleam of this truth appears in Mark 11:22 (literally: "Have faith of God"). Here Jesus is plainly directing Peter's thought from the inadequate struggle of human faith to the faith of God which accomplishes the impossible, not only without us, but, if we will, through us.

If this interpretation is correct, we may not dispense with the historical basis of faith and individual initiative as some do, nor, as is more often the case, may we rest alone in the historical knowledge of Christ. It is the natural impulse of the Christian heart to crave the real presence of Christ. This it seeks in the beginning by objectifying through the pictorial imagination the Jesus of the gospels. By conscious effort of the will he is directly presented to the mind in prayer, praise and work. But doubts arise in the devout yet thoughtful mind, so completely is such a faith the echo of one's own wish and will. Christ's presence seems a vaguely recalled memory rather than a self-evidencing fact. The logical, too often the actual, outcome of such doubts is to reduce the Christian life to an attempt to reproduce in modern life merely the ethics of Jesus. Such terms as "Communion," "Guidance," "Enduement" cease to be descriptions of actual transactions with a living Lord.

The faith of Jesus in his Father was no such vague supposition grounded on a narrow margin of possible facts. Like ours his faith doubtless had its historical origin in his religious training, his knowledge of Messianic prophecy, the early intimations of his heart that he was, perchance, the Promised One. Granting this and nothing more we can hardly explain how his

faith reached that magnificent assurance of unique sonship, that unquestioning confidence in the absolute truth and authority of its teachings, that unparalleled power to mould the perfect life and dictate the complete sacrifice of Jesus.

Martineau was unable to believe that Jesus really thought himself the Messiah. Such a self-assumed claim seemed to him inconsistent with the humility of Jesus. This conviction and assertion that he was the "Son of God" is indeed an assumption all too divine for even the holiest man to make of his own notion. Acquaintance with God leads to profoundest acknowledgment of our ignorance of his ways, our insufficiency to reveal him. It is therefore startling to find this rule so completely reversed in Jesus. "As the Father knoweth me and I know the Father;" "I and my Father are one;" "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father." In view of such statements it is necessary either to deny that Jesus used them in a more than figurative sense, or else to regard the faith of Jesus in his Father as a divinely implanted and sustained faith that overcame the natural modesty of a sensitive and humble soul and against all human evidence impelled him to believe in and assert unqualifiedly his divine sonship. Indeed there is perhaps nothing which Jesus more strenuously maintained than just this—that his faith and life were the spontaneous work of the Father in him. "I am not come of myself;" "He that sent me is with me;" "I live by the Father;" "My meat is to do the will of him that sent me;" "I do always those things that please him;" "My doctrine is not mine but his that sent me;" "I can do nothing of myself; the Father that dwelleth in me doeth the works."

In Gal. 2:16–20 Paul passes from "belief in Christ" to "the faith of Christ" and thence to the indwelling life of Christ. These transitions are not clearly defined in our Saviour's relation to his Father. It would seem that he had from his early years the perfect faith of the matured Christian. This need not prevent us from thinking of his faith as brought to consciousness by historical and rational grounds similar to those which give rise to our own faith in God. From his earliest teaching in the temple to the last when the "voice from Heaven" authenticated

his message, there was a various and progressive unfolding of his faith. Yet the boy of twelve about his Father's business exhibits not the uncertain faith of the beginner in the divine life, but the unqualified, albeit undeveloped, faith of the "only begotten of the Father."

With us, however, faith in Jesus Christ, so far as it does not rest directly on the authority of parent or teacher, begins with the assent of the mind to the historical probability of his resurrection. The next step, perhaps, is an awakening conviction of his divinity based upon the moral excellence of his teaching and especially the attempt to enshrine it in one's life. From this it is easy to rise to a comparatively strong assurance of his living presence. Through some such course of thought, varying in the order and nature of the successive steps, one comes to that advanced stage of the Christian life where faith is less exertion than submission, where it is better described as a gift than an acquirement, as the life of Jesus rather than one's own.

In this culmination of faith "he that is joined unto the Lord is one spirit" (1 Cor. 6:17). It is this unity that enables Paul to speak with equal facility of the operation of the divine or the human will in faith. Thus he says to Timothy (2 Tim. 1:5, 6): "When I call to remembrance the unfeigned faith that is in thee . . . I put thee in remembrance that thou stir up the gift of God that is within thee." This passage is pregnant with meaning, describing Timothy's faith as the blending of heredity, grace and personal effort. The phrase "gift of God" may not refer primarily here to faith, but a comparison with 1 Tim. 4:14; 1:18, 19 ("holding faith"); 1:5, "the end of the charge is in faith unfeigned," will not fail to show that Paul is here ascribing a divine origin to faith and in the same breath urging personal effort as its fittest complement.

Faith in Christ is, then, neither wholly ethical nor mystical. Evoked by authority, confirmed by reason, "working by love," it becomes a life from God in which there are but two pulsations; the one Christ revealing himself, the other the believer, confessing Christ. "I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." This is the faith of Jesus Christ—*his* faith and *therefore* ours.

THE NATURE AND SCOPE OF THE SCIENCE OF COMPARATIVE RELIGION.

By MERWIN-MARIE SNELL.

Distinction between Theology and Philosophy and Science.—The science of religion deals with the phenomena.—These phenomena multiform—their accumulation dependent on the specialists in other departments.—Examples in Zoroastrianism.—Employment of folk-lore.—Comparative religion an historical science.—Results to be expected from it.—False and true method in its study.

THE word science has changed its meaning very much during the past century or two. Formerly it was synonymous with "knowledge," and was applied especially to clear and systematized knowledge. Consequently the kinds of knowledge which were most exalted in their subject-matter, and which admitted of the highest degree of certitude, such as theology and metaphysics, were considered as science par excellence.

But since the rise of the inductive method, with Bacon and Leonardo da Vinci, those branches of science which deal with the merely phenomenal aspect of things have undergone an enormous development, having been until that time very much neglected. Now as the use of the inductive method involves a vast amount of observation, with a relatively small amount of thought, a distinction naturally arose between the knowledge which is simply the result of the collection and correlation of facts, and that which is derived from the profounder processes of thought and the study and elucidation of ideas.

The first has come to monopolize in popular usage the name of science, while the latter is called philosophy, and, in a narrower sense, metaphysics.

These preliminary considerations prepare us to appreciate the great distinctions which exist between the scientific study of religions and the theological or the philosophical study of them.

Theology concerns itself with the classification and elucidation of religious doctrines the truth of which is presupposed. The philosophy of religion studies the religious beliefs and practices of mankind, with a view to correlating them with the principles from which they have sprung or by which they are explained, and discovering their interior relations with each other, with truth, and with all the facts and principles of the universe. The science of comparative religion, which ought to be called *hierology* (the science of sacred things), though that term until its recent adoption in the present sense by the United States National Museum, and a few Continental scholars, was monopolized by the Egyptologists, deals with the same beliefs and practices simply as phenomena of human thought and conduct, apart altogether from the question of their truth or falsity, their utility or harmfulness, recording them as accurately as possible, tracing the history of their developments and corruptions, and classifying them according to their observed relations.

To recapitulate, theology elucidates religious truths; hierology classifies religious phenomena; and the philosophy of religion seeks to explain those truths and those phenomena by discovering the great laws of which they are the illustration. With theology, with the philosophy of religion, and with propædæutics—that branch of philosophy which concerns itself with the grounds of supernatural as well as of natural certitude—the science of hierology has no direct relations.

Passing beyond these broad generalizations, let us see exactly what the work is which this science has to do. We will glance first at its materials, secondly at its aims, and thirdly at its methods.

Hierology takes cognizance of all facts connected with any of the religious beliefs and practices of the human race, considered merely as phenomena of thought and conduct. Its first task is to place these facts upon record. Every religious and ethical notion, every ceremonial rite, and every sacred office of each of the innumerable sects which dot the surface of the globe must be accurately described in a form available for future reference. Where a chronological series of such facts relating to the same

people or sect can be obtained, it must be made as complete as the records of history and tradition will permit, for it will be of incalculable value in tracing the history of its development, fusion, disintegration and corruption, as well as in suggesting or confirming conclusions as to the general history of religions, and doctrines, and practices.

This accumulation of materials by the collection and recording of religious facts can only in small part be done by the students of comparative religion themselves. It becomes a physical impossibility for them in view of the multiplicity of sects, and particularly the languages which they employ, to do much of this preliminary labor. They are compelled, in the very nature of the case, to rely for materials mainly upon another class of workers. They must collect, and sift, and weigh the evidence furnished by trustworthy travelers and explorers, and special students of individual literatures or groups of literatures; they must accept the translations of sacred books made by the most competent linguists, checking them and all the facts which they use by means of all the available channels of information.

To show how hopeless a task it would be for the hierologist to undertake to gather his own materials from their original sources, or to verify them personally, it will be sufficient to cite the single example of Mazdeism, the religion of the Zend Avesta. For a man to have an opinion regarding the interpretation of any particular passage in its sacred books which will be of any weight as against those of the Zend specialists, he must be thoroughly master of at least five most difficult tongues, namely, the Old Persian (the language of the cuneiform inscriptions), the Gâtha dialect (found in the most ancient part of the Avesta), the Zend (in which the rest of the collection is written), the Pahlavi (a later tongue in which versions and commentaries abound), and the Sanscrit (the nearest congener of this linguistic group); and it would be the task of a lifetime to acquire such a proficiency in them as to make a competent opinion possible.

It is a mistake sometimes made by certain classes of scientific students of religions to exclude from consideration some portion

of the facts of which cognizance must be taken if adequate and reliable results are to be obtained.

Some take into account only what may be called the accoutrements and decorations of religion, that is to say, the rites and ceremonies, and objects of religious use or veneration. Others would limit our attention to the myths, or tales and legends, in which the religious notions of a people may chance to be embodied.

These are all important factors in the problems to be resolved, and cannot be properly omitted, but they are neither the whole, nor the most important of the facts which need to be recorded. Every cult in the world contains, at least in germ, five distinct elements: a doctrinal system, a code of morals, a theory of spiritual life or mystical development, a ritual, and a sacerdotal or ministerial organization. In most religions these elements are woven closely together, into a *Mythos*, that is to say, a body of poetic narratives, which usually contain a mingling of allegorical, historic and purely rhetorical elements. These stories or myths constitute the religious belief of a people, illustrate its ethical ideals, shadow forth its spiritual aspirations, are acted out in its ritual, and furnish the credentials of its hierarchs. And yet comparative mythology, which deals with these, is not all of the science of comparative religion. The latter deals with the phenomena of religion, not only in their relation to the *Mythos*, but to all the other phenomena of human thought and experience with which they are in any way connected; and it concerns itself more, rather than less, with those higher religions in which the *Mythos* is replaced by the creed.

Most of the popular traditionary tales, even such as are included in the *Arabian Nights*, *Æsop's Fables* and *Mother Goose*, had originally a religious significance and represent a degenerate form of the myth.

The number of such stories is astonishingly large, and scarcely a community is to be found upon the face of the globe which does not possess some of them. The tenacity with which they are preserved, is illustrated by the recently discovered fact that in certain parts of Italy the whole mythology of Etruscan paganism still survives in the popular traditions.

The study of this *folklore* is an important auxiliary to comparative mythology, and consequently to the science of religions, and many valuable materials can be gathered from that source.

What the oral Mythos is to the lower religions, the sacred books are to the higher. These, of course, must form one of the most fertile sources of religious information. Theoretically, all religions and religious literature should be included in the domain of scientific investigation, and there should be no discrimination in favor of that in which we ourselves believe. But, as it is difficult to apply this principle practically without producing unsalutary misunderstandings in the popular mind, there are Christian scholars who consider that the non-Christian religions furnish materials in abundance, and that it is not necessary to even appear to lay irreverent hands upon the truths we revere, and upon the records of inspiration.

The science of hierology or comparative religion has for its ultimate object the perfecting of our knowledge of the present and past religious condition of all the peoples of the world, and the tracing of the causes of the origin, development, decay, corruption, transformation and extinction of religious doctrines, practices, rites and organizations. Its business is, in short, the reconstruction of the religious history of mankind, and the systematic description of its present religious condition. It has nothing to do with the rational basis of religion, which belongs to propædæutics. Neither has it anything to do with the truth or falsity of doctrines, or the excellence or wrongfulness of practices; such questions belong to theology. The correlation of religious ideas and practices with the philosophic principles upon which they rest, or from which they spring, and their rational explanation and elucidation are equally out of its province; these are functions of the philosophy of religion.

It is thus with the phenomenal aspect only that the science of comparative religion has to do; and hence it is that this science cannot, without becoming something less than a science in the modern sense of empirical learning, be carried on from the standpoint of any particular religion. Any assertion of the truth or falsity of a religion by a hierologist would be made by

him, not in his scientific capacity, but simply as a private individual, or else as a philosopher or theologian.

No science can have a direct aim exterior to itself. The aim of every science is the acquisition and diffusion of knowledge regarding its own subject-matter, without regard to what use may be made of that knowledge. But I will enumerate here a few of the useful results which hierological science must incidentally have, though it does not, and cannot, as a science, keep them in any way in view.

Religious beliefs and institutions are so closely bound up with all the interior and exterior life of the race, that a mastery of its religious history will make intelligible for the first time its psychological and social history. A scientific study of religions must also tend to promote the cause of true religion, both by revealing the sources of error, and by enabling truth to stand out in more resplendent beauty, as it always will, by placing it side by side with falsehood.

The propagandist will, by means of this science, be made acquainted with the systems he is to combat, and be abundantly equipped with weapons of attack; the defenders of the religion whose territory he invades may in their turn look to it for a means of defense; but it will be a most real and lasting service to that cause of the two which is nearest right.

Over and above all these special utilities, the results of the comparative study of religion cannot but be a broadening and humanizing of sympathy, an enlargement of our conceptions of human need and divine reponsiveness, of human dignity and divine justice, of human achievement and divine providence.

Unfortunately the question of the methods of the scientific study of religions brings us face to face with an illustration of the pernicious effects of a religious bias in hierological work. Many of the best known writers on comparative religion have been primarily specialists in ethnology, and have adopted in both of these spheres the same unscientific method; an inconsistency into which they have apparently been betrayed in both cases by the necessity they felt themselves under of proving their own system of thought to represent the high-water mark of the

world's religious development. Scholars of this class are in the habit of arranging all known races and cults in linear series, placing those which they consider the lowest at the bottom, and those which they consider the highest at the top, the others graduating between these two extremes. From this artificial series, proceeding on the assumption that the lowest must of necessity be the most ancient, they write the history of civilization and thought.

This method is a radically pernicious one. The series of facts might be as easily read in the descending scale ; but it has no right to exist as a series or be put to any such purpose. The history of religions should be based, not upon gratuitous assumptions regarding contemporaneous systems, but upon inductions from such real historical facts as are obtainable. A reaction against the old *ex parte* methods has now set in, and the historic method is continually finding new champions among qualified specialists.

A truly scientific method, analogous to those used in other sciences, would be to begin by classifying the religions of the world upon the same principles by which animals and plants are classified according to the degree of specialization of function and organic unity that they exhibit, and the types of structure which they severally represent. This method, which one would expect to find in general favor among scientific students, has thus far been scrupulously avoided, apparently for the single reason that it would take the place of honor away from the shapeless and negative systems which most of them personally affect, and assign them to a position far down in the scale of religious development.

It is not necessary in this connection to engage in a critical analysis of all the false methods which have impeded the progress of this science, and especially of comparative mythology, the branch of it which has been most assiduously studied.

By careless and one-sided arguments it has been attempted to show that all religious myths were personifications, instinctive or rhetorical, of the forces and phenomena of nature ; or that they were the results of distorted historical reminiscences, of

philological blunders, of other ignorant misunderstandings, or of the wanton fancy of the world's infancy. The historical method which ignores none of these elements, nor the claims of divine revelation, but which shuns the unwisdom of seeking to explain a multitude of intricate phenomena by one simple assumption, will inevitably lead to truer and more lasting results than have thus far been obtained.

Before closing, I must insist once again upon the necessity of excluding one's own religious opinions from his studies or writings on the subject of comparative religion. It is true, however strange it may seem, that there is nothing religious about the science of religions. Religious study penetrates behind the surface of thoughts and things into the divine depths of the animating spirit. Philosophical study likewise goes beneath the surface into the realm of essences or noumena. But the phenomenal world is the domain of science, and, as observed at the outset, it is with the phenomena alone of religions that the science of hierology has to do.

THE IDEAL ELEMENT IN PROPHECY.

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THE title of this paper states in a general way the subject to be considered, but does not define it. Let us then begin with a definition, that we may have before us the limits of our investigation.

By the Ideal Element in Prophecy is now meant those creations of the imagination embodied in the predictions of the inspired prophets of Israel which either in harmony with, or contrary to, the expectation of the prophet, never had, and never can have, any realization in the facts of human history.

In other words, it is the imaginative element in the predictions of the prophets. It is what the prophets wished, or hoped, or feared might come to pass, as they made for themselves, in imagination, bright visions of prosperity, or dark ones of disaster; but which was never to be. Or else it is that which they knew, as things are, never could be, but which they added to that they expected, as a yet brighter or darker color than the real, in the picture of the future they were painting.

In considering the subject, we shall ask:

- (1) What is the antecedent probability that there would be such an element in the prophetic predictions?
- (2) What is the evidence that such an element exists?
- (3) What is the extent of this element in the prophetic books?

The relation of these questions to that of the literal fulfillment of all the prophetic predictions is obvious, and will not need a separate and special treatment.

We ask first, then, what is the antecedent probability that there would be such an element in the prophetic predictions? By antecedent is here meant antecedent to the examination of

the evidence for the existence of this element. If there is any such antecedent probability, we shall, on the one hand, be encouraged to seek for the evidence of the existence of the element in question; and, on the other, no idea we may justly hold as to the value and authority of the prophetic Scriptures will be shown to be worthless or untenable by the establishing of the existence of this element.

It may be said, therefore, in the first place, that we ought to expect to find such an element in the prophetic predictions, because the writings of the prophets are largely, both in thought and form, poetic. But poetry is, in its very nature, the language of the imagination. The poet may, indeed, be the seer, and the creations of the truly poetic imagination may be more true to the realities of the universe than the course of human experience. But this is simply saying that these creations are not realized in human experience. What Edmond About says, which is, in substance, that "the most real things are those that never happen," is probably true. But these real things do not happen all the same. If, then, the prophets were poets, why should we think that all they set forth in their words was to happen? It may be replied that they were inspired men. Yes; but inspired poets. Is an inspired poet less a poet, because he is inspired? Is not an inspired imagination still an imagination? It does not cease to be a creative power, and become a merely receptive power, a mere logical faculty, a reason, by being inspired.

It may be urged in reply that inspiration did not affect the imagination, since this divine touch was limited to the receptive faculties of the soul, such as the reason, the memory, the judgment. But upon what grounds can this claim be made? Surely the imagination is as much the creation of God as any faculty of the soul. Why, then, shall he not as well reveal himself and his truth through this faculty, according to the nature he has given to it, as through any other faculty? If God is the great poet, why shall he not speak to man by that poetic faculty in the exercise of which man is most like the creator and the poet, God? It is through the imagination that man brings to himself the joys, the upliftings, the soul-enlargements, the teachings, of

the whole vast and glorious realm of Art. It is over the magic bridges which the imagination flings across the abysses of the unknown that he passes to the sublimest discoveries of science. Is it, then, this queenly power of the mind, that is the only one to be thrust aside as worthless by God, when he would bring man nearer to truth and to himself? Are judgment, and reason, and memory to be reserved for God, and imagination, at whose feet these humbly lay their results, to be given over to the world, the flesh, and the devil?

Nor let it be forgotten that when God gives his truth to man through the imagination, it must come in such ways and forms, and by such laws, as belong to the imagination. Else it could not come by way of this special power of the soul. But the peculiarity of the creations of the imagination is, that, however true they may be to the deepest realities of life and being, just as they do not correspond to and repeat past experience, so, often at least, they are *never* realized in experience and history, as we know them.

A second ground for thinking it probable that there would be an ideal element in the prophetic predictions, is to be found in the way in which truths are given by inspiration. The divine method seems to be, as an inductive study of the Scriptures shows, to teach by generals rather than by particulars. Especially is this true in the case of those teachings that relate to the future. One has need only to call to mind the eschatological teachings of the New Testament, to be reminded of the truth of these statements. If, then, to the receptive faculties of the prophet's soul only the generals of the history yet to be were given, the particulars must be supplied by the imagination, inspired or uninspired. Whether inspired or uninspired, does not matter for the present purpose. Yet for an effective, not to say a poetic, presentation of the general truth revealed to the prophet, these details it was, sometimes at least, necessary to supply. This certainly would be the reasonable conclusion. Its reasonableness may be more clearly seen by an argument from analogy.

Let us suppose, for example, that one of us should be bidden

by God to reprove the city of Chicago for its sins, and should know by revelation from him that, if the sins of the city should not be repented of and forsaken, the city would be laid in ashes by a destructive fire before the expiration of the present decade, and should be commissioned by God to announce this coming doom as a reason and motive for repentance. It might be — according to the usual divine method in revelation, it would be, — that he had not been told anything by God as to the exact spot where the fire would break out, whether, indeed, it would break out in one, or in many spots, through what streets, or in what direction it would make its way, or any other of many details that would be prominent and important elements in the coming disaster. If now he should seek to fulfil his commission to present this threatened disaster so as to make it effective in securing a spiritual or a moral transformation in life and character, it would be almost inevitable that he should attempt to supply by imagination, guided by the probabilities of the case, more or less of these details. Especially would this be true, if he were a poetic soul, and spoke as a poet. In this latter case he would be likely even to pay little attention to the probabilities of the case, or would neglect them altogether, and even might set forth that which, so far as could appear from facts, would be clearly impossible. The prophet, being generally a poetic soul, and having always a moral or spiritual end to reach, would, then, naturally, even if his imagination was inspired, sometimes, at least, have done just these very things.

Thus would an ideal element now appear in the prophetic predictions.

A third reason for thinking it probable there would be found such an element in the predictions of the prophets, is the fact that such an element appears in those of their utterances that are not predictive. Here may be cited, for example, several passages from the third chapter of Habakkuk. Speaking of God's bringing of his chosen people from Egypt to the promised land, the prophet says ¹ (vss. 3-4),

¹ For the sake of uniformity, all the citations in this paper are taken from the Revised English Version of the Old Testament.

"His glory covered the heavens,
And the earth was full of his praise,
And his brightness was as the light;
He had rays coming forth from his hand."

This is not history, but poetry. The things here set forth correspond to no facts observed or existing in the march from the Red Sea to the Jordan. It is all about as far from actual fact as when we say that for centuries the stars have been windows in heaven through which pitying angels have looked down on the misery of the earth. The same may be said of the words (vs. 5),

"Before him went the pestilence,
And fiery bolts went forth at his feet."

Or again of the words (vss. 10-11),

"The mountains saw thee and were afraid;
The tempest of waters passed by:
The deep uttered his voice,
And lifted up his hands on high.
The sun and moon stood still in their habitation;
At the light of thine arrows as they went.
At the shining of thy glittering spear."

The naturalness with which this element comes into the prophetic utterances is shown by a little touch in Amos 2:7. In describing the sins of the rich and luxurious age of Jeroboam II, when speaking of the greed of the wealthy classes to increase their landed possessions the prophet talks of those "that pant after the dust of the earth on the head of the poor." This expression, which is clearly the language of imagination, and does not state any literal fact that corresponds to its terms exactly, stands among a number of statements that seem to correspond to actually existing facts. Thus it is seen how naturally the prophet passed from the prosaic to the poetic.

One more example under this head will be enough to show, in connection with those already presented, that the fact claimed really exists. In Isa. 62:6, 7 we read: "I have set watchmen upon thy walls, O Jerusalem; they shall never hold their peace day nor night: ye that are the Lord's remembrancers, take ye

no rest, and give him no rest, till he establish, and till he make Jerusalem a praise in the earth."

The prophet in Babylonia, looking in imagination over the long stretch between the land of exile and the ruins of the beloved and longed-for city of God and knowing that the time is now near at hand when once more the nation shall be married to the desolate land, and God shall rejoice over the Beulah that is to be, can scarcely wait till God's time to work the mighty work of deliverance. To his ardent imagination it seems that God himself shares in his impatience. Lest he should by some chance forget to put forth his mighty power as soon as might be, or for some reason delay longer than would really be necessary to make Jerusalem a praise in the earth, our prophet believes, he seems to see, that God, in the anxiety of his love, has made ample provision. Before the prophetic mind imagination pictures the desolate ruins and the rubbish heaps of the walls that once surrounded the queenly city. But even now the ruins are forsaken no longer. Trusty messengers sent by Jehovah from the realm of serving spirits stand in eager longing on the ruined walls, or hover over them in joyful anticipation. They are there that God may not delay in his coming work. They need neither rest nor sleep; by day and night, neither to themselves nor to their God will they allow peace or quiet. Evermore they will ceaselessly cry, "Save, restore; restore, save, remember, rebuild," until the hour shall come when they can together sing, "The Lord hath comforted his people, he hath redeemed Jerusalem." (Isa. 52:9.)

This vision was not according to fact, but it was more according to truth than facts which were then to be seen.

We come now naturally to ask whether there is good evidence that passages like these which we have found to exist in the nonpredictive part of the prophetic writings are to be found also among the predictions of the prophets. This was to be our second question.

To answer it we must appeal to the facts which a sound exegesis will reveal. Let us begin with a passage that is parallel to the one last cited. In Isa. 52:7, 8 we read: "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tid-

ings, that publisheth peace, that bringeth good tidings of good, that publisheth salvation; that saith unto Zion, Thy God reigneth! The voice of thy watchmen! They lift up the voice, together do they sing; for they shall see, eye to eye, when the Lord returneth to Zion."

Evidently this is as far removed from fact as the vision in chapter 62. Indeed, we have here the continuation and the completion of that vision. The eager and anxious watchmen on the ruined walls have not cried in vain. The sleepless messengers from the realm of serving spirits have ended at last their task. Jehovah has risen in might, and has made bare his holy arm. The nation is free, and is returning to wed the chosen land. Without fear and without haste the glad march is even now making by the joyous hosts of Israel, Jehovah himself both going at the head of the rejoicing nation, and serving as its defending rearguard. But some eager soul, either moved by his own impatient joy, or commissioned by God himself, cannot wait for the end of the glad and leisurely march. With swift feet he hastens on before the advancing host, and soon he stands upon the mountains about Jerusalem, looking down upon its desolate wastes. To these wastes and to the ruined walls he cries, "Break forth into joy, sing together, O Zion, thy God reigneth." Now hear the answering song of the serving watching spirits that have eagerly waited for this day. "The voice of the watchmen! they lift up the voice, together do they sing." Then, as anon they see the mighty host advancing, Jehovah at its head, they gaze with joyous glances into each other's eyes, and shout yet louder in triumphant song.

In historic fact the song was never sung. No voice of watchman was heard as the little band of exiles returned to rebuild the temple, and to weep as its foundation was laid. The song would not have been sung had the returning march been that of millions. No foot of announcing messenger proclaiming peace, ever stood, or ever was to stand, on the hills about Jerusalem. But were these words of the prophet less useful or less beautiful, or, in the deepest sense, less true on that account? Are they less beautiful or less useful, even now?

We may take as another example the words of Joel, in the second chapter of his prophecy, the tenth verse. In this place, the prophet seems to be setting forth some circumstances that shall attend the devastations of a horde of locusts to be sent by Jehovah to ravage the land of Judah in punishment of its sins. Concerning the coming of this scourge, he says; "The earth quaketh before them; the heavens tremble; the sun and the moon are darkened, and the stars withdraw their shining."

Now it does not seem possible to suppose that the prophet expected the physical phenomena thus set forth would ever become real in nature. What flight of locusts ever did, or could, even though all the locusts of earth should gather in one mighty swarm, make the solid earth tremble under foot, or the sky quiver and shake over head, or, not merely darken the land by cutting off the light from the heavenly luminaries, but turn the sun, moon, and stars themselves dark and black with terror, or with sorrow? This latter would be the more unlikely, if we should think of exact facts, since locusts do not fly by night.

But it is not science or fact that these words are intended to set before us. The utterance is that of a poet. He may see a frightened earth or a terrified sun where science or history cannot.

Of a similar sort is a passage that forms the opening words of the prophecy of Zephaniah. This prophet is telling of the coming of a day of wrath, a dark and gloomy day of Jehovah, in which an invading army, a devastating host, whether of Scythians or of Babylonians, shall lay Judah waste, and destroy Jerusalem. In announcing the purpose of Jehovah to be accomplished in this day, he says, as using Jehovah's own words, 1 : 2, 3, "I will utterly consume all things from off the face of the ground, . . . I will consume man and beast; I will consume the fowls of the heaven, and the fishes of the sea."

In reference to this utterance it is very clear, not to speak of other matters, that the prophet could not have expected the latter part of it ever to be fulfilled. For no hostile invasion, however great or terrible, whether to be made by Scythians or by Babylonians, could result in the death of all the fishes in the sea of Galilee and the Mediterranean, or sweep in destruction the

birds from the pathways of the sky. Clearly, therefore, on all grounds, deductive and inductive, there is an ideal element in the predictions of the prophets.

So we are brought to our third question, what is the extent of this element in the prophetic writings? This question it is difficult, probably impossible, to answer. This is especially so because it is complicated with another, the extent of the Conditional Element in prophecy. By this element is meant those prophecies that never have been fulfilled, and now never can be fulfilled, but which would have been fulfilled had the course of things in the history and life of Israel been other than it was. The term fulfilled is now used to mean such a happening of things in human history as alone could be indicated by the terms and the language employed by the prophet, the historic counterpart of his utterances taken with due regard to their verbal form.

What might have been it is always difficult to say. So, when a prophecy has found no realization in history or fact, and now can find none, the question whether this is due to the presence in it of a conditional, or of an ideal element, or of both combined, is often well nigh, if not altogether, unanswerable.

To show more clearly how true this is, we may briefly consider one of the most prominent and most important forms of this conditional element of prophecy.

When we rightly interpret the Old Testament, we find the prophets with one voice proclaiming that Israel is to be the beginning and the center of the coming kingdom of God, and its eternal queen; and that Jerusalem is to be forever the religious capital of the world. Any other way for the coming of the kingdom of God, or any other form of its life, is to them utterly unknown. Yet this high destiny is only for Israel on condition that she shows herself fitted for it. It was, then, because she did not fulfil the condition that she, who might have been exalted to heaven, was thrust down to Hades. Her fall left the prophecies that relate to her possible destiny unfulfilled, and evermore to remain unfulfilled.

To all this agree the words and acts of Jesus. According to his parable, he was the only Son sent last of all to the wicked

husbandmen to recall them to their duty and their destiny. He was sent to the lost sheep of the house of Israel ; and, as king of the Jews, he labored among the chosen nation to bring it to receive him and the kingdom he came to establish. When, at last, all had been done that could be done, and all been done in vain, he knew the end had come. As he rode towards the beloved city amid the shouts of "Hosanna to the Son of David," so soon to change to cries of "Crucify him," and looked upon the Jerusalem he loved so well, a new sense of all that had been lost seems to have fallen on his soul, and his falling tears revealed the sorrow that lay heavy on his heart. It must have been more in the certainty of sorrow than in the pain and just indignation of rejection that he said a little later to the representatives of the nation, "The kingdom of God shall be taken away from you, and shall be given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof."

With this transfer of the kingdom to the Gentiles passed away the possibility of the fulfilment of those prophecies that were uttered in the hope or the expectation that Israel would sometime be found ready to receive the fulness of the kingdom, and would, as faithful to Jehovah, become its center and its queen. The substance cannot be destroyed, and the form be perpetuated. The fact that the substance could perish shows that the form was only conditional.

It is, therefore, the blending of the Conditional and the Ideal Elements in Prophecy, to which is largely, if not entirely, due the fact of unfulfilled prophecy.

It will, however, evidently be impossible to draw with any accuracy a line between these two elements, until we have first determined, if such determination is possible, what Israel's history, life, and destiny would have been had these been altogether such as God wished, and such as he, by his prophets and his Son, wrought that they might be. Especially necessary will it be to discover what would have come to Israel and to man had Jesus succeeded in realizing in his earthly life the claim, the assertion of which finally slew him, and which was written as his accusation above his head upon the cross, "Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews."

OUTLINE TOPICS IN THE HISTORY OF OLD TESTAMENT PROPHECY.

VII.

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PROPHECY OF ISAIAH AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES.

I. LITERARY SOURCES.

I. Contemporaneous Hebrew Sources:¹

- 1) 737 B. C. Is. 6.²
- 2) 736-735 B. C. Is. 2-4.
- 3) 735-732 B. C. Is. 5: 1-25; 9: 8-10: 4; 5: 26-30.
- 4) 732 B. C. Is. 7: 1-9: 7; 17: 1-11.
- 5) 725 B. C. Mic. 1-3.
- 6) 722 B. C. Is. 28; 19 (?).
- 7) 711 B. C. Is. 20: 1-6; 21: 1-10.
- 8) Mic. 4, 5.
- 9) 711 B. C. Is. 38; 39; 1 (?).
- 10) 702 B. C. Is. 29-32.
- 11) 701 B. C. Is. 10: 5-12: 6; 14: 24-27; 17: 12-14.
- 12) 701 B. C. Is. 18; 33; 36; 37.
- 13) 701 B. C. Psalms 46, 47, 48, 76, 75 (?).

¹ Isaiah 24-27 (Israel's affliction and redemption); 13: 1-14: 23 (Fall of Babylon); 34, 35 (Destruction of Edom), 40-66 (Restoration of Israel) belong to other periods.

² Cf. on Isaiah, Ewald, *Prophets of the O. T.* II.; Kitto, *Daily Bible Illustrations*, VI.; Kay, *Isaiah* (*Bible Comm.* V.); W. R. Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*, 235-316; Cheyne, *The Prophecies of Isaiah*; Orelli, *O. T. Prophecy*, 255-305; Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, 180-219; Giesebrecht, *Die Immanuelweissagung*, *St Kr*, 1888, part 2, 217 ff; Driver, *Isaiah, his Life and Times*; Sayce, *Life and Times of Isaiah*; Orelli, *The Prophecies of Isaiah*; G. A. Smith, *The Book of Isaiah (Exp. Bible)* I; Delitzsch, *Bib. Comm. on the Prophecies of Isaiah*, I.; Giesebrecht, *Beiträge zur Jesaiakritik*; Reich, *Jesaias*; Blake, *How to Read Isaiah (How to Read the Prophets, II.)*; Kirkpatrick, *The Doctrine of the Prophets*, 141-200; Driver, *Introduction*², 194-231; Dillmann, *Der Prophet Jesaja*; Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja*; Nägelsbach, *The Prophet Isaiah (Lange)*; Rawlinson, *Isaiah (Pulpit Comm.)*, I.

- 14) Psalms 12; 6; 30; 39; 62; 66: 13-20.
 15) 680 B. C. (?) Mic. 6-7:6.
 16) 660 B. C. Nahum 1-3.

2. Events as derived from Monumental Sources, about 854-640 B.C.¹

1. Revolt of Mesha king of Moab from Ahab of Israel.²
2. 854, at the battle of Karkar, Shalmaneser II captures 2000 chariots and 10,000 people from Ahab of Israel, one of the allied forces.³
3. 842, Jehu of Israel pays tribute to Shalmaneser II.⁴
4. 738, Uzziah (Azariah) of Judah pays tribute to Tiglath-pileser III.⁵
5. 738, Menahem of Israel pays tribute to Tiglathpileser III.⁶
6. 734, Ahaz of Judah pays tribute to Tiglathpileser III.⁷
7. 733, Tiglathpileser III. slays Pekah of Israel and sets Hoshea on his throne.⁸
8. 722, Samaria, having been besieged by Shalmaneser IV, is captured by Sargon.⁹
9. 701, Sennacherib captures many cities and takes much spoil from Hezekiah.¹⁰

¹ For the chronology in general, cf. Wellhausen, *Die Zeitrechnung des Buchs der Könige seit der Theilung des Reiches*, *JDTh*, 1870, 607-40; Kamphausen, *Neuer Versuch einer Chronologie der hebräischen Könige*, *ZAW*, III., 193-202; Schrader, *COT*, I., 320-25.

² Inscription of Mesha on the "Moabite stone," cf. Smend and Socin, *Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab*; Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, I., 390-95; Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, LXXXV.-XCIV.; Sayce, *Higher Criticism* 366 ff.

³ Inscription of Shalmaneser II, cf. 3 R, 8, ll. 91, 92; *KB*, I. 172 f.; Schrader *COT*, I., 182-6; Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, I., 392 f.; Brown, *Assyriology, its Use and Abuse*, 53-62.

⁴ Inscription of Shalmaneser II, cf. Layard, *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character*, 98:2; Schrader, *COT*, I., 199 ff.; Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, I., 396, 412.

⁵ Inscription of Tiglathpileser III, cf. 3 R., 9, l. 2; *KB*, II. 24-7, Schrader, *COT*, I., 208-14; Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, I., 446-53; Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, I., 1-23; McCurdy, *Hist. Proph. and the Monuments*, 413 ff.

⁶ 3 R. 9:2, l. 50; *KB*, II., 30 f.; Schrader, *COT*, I., 281-4.

⁷ 3 R. 67; *KB*, II., 20 f.; Schrader, *COT*, I., 255 f.

⁸ 3 R. 10:2, l. 28 f.; *KB*, II., 32 f.; Schrader, *COT*, I., 247 f., 251 f.

⁹ *KB*, II., 54 f., Schrader, *COT*, I., 263-7; Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, I., 454 f.

¹⁰ Inscription of Sennacherib, cf. 1 R, 37-42, col. 2:71, 72, col. 3:11-41; 3 R, 12:23-32; *KB*, 92-97; *RP*², VI., 88-91; Schrader, *COT*, I., 277-310; Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, I., 467 ff.

10. The Siloam inscription, dating probably from the reign of Hezekiah.¹
11. 675, Manasseh pays tribute to Esarhaddon.²
12. 667, Manasseh pays tribute to Ashurbanipal.³
13. Ashurbanipal carries Manasseh away captive to Babylon.⁴

3. Later Hebrew Sources.

- 1) The later material of the Books of Kings.
- 2) The Books of Chronicles.

2. LIVING PROPHECY.

- 1) The destruction of Damascus by Tiglathpileser III (732 B.C.).
- 2) The capture of Samaria by Sargon (722 B.C.).
- 3) The defeat of Egypt and Gaza at Raphia (720 B.C.).
- 4) The invasion of Philistia by Sargon (711 B.C.).
- 5) The capture of Babylon (710 B.C.).
- 6) The Egyptian political party.
- 7) Hezekiah.
- 8) The invasion of Sennacherib (701 B.C.).
- 9) The work of Isaiah.
- 10) Manasseh.
- 11) The work of Micah.
- 12) The invasion of Egypt by Ashurbanipal (664 B.C.).
- 13) The fall of Thebes (660 B.C.).
- 14) The work of Nahum.

3. DESCRIPTIVE AND PREDICTIVE PROPHECY.⁵

- 1) The exaltation of Jehovah's mountain, Isa. 2:2-5.
- 2) The idolatry and luxury of Jerusalem, 2:6-11.

¹ Socin, *ZDPV*, III., 54 f.; Kautzsch, *ZDPV*, IV., 102 ff., 261 ff.; Guthe, *ZDPV*, IV., 250 ff.; Guthe, *Die Siloahinschrift*, *ZDMG*, XXXVI., 725-50; Sayce, *Higher Criticism*, 376-84.

² Inscription of Esarhaddon, cf. 3 R. 15, 16, col. 5; 13; *KB*, 148 f.; Harper, *Hebraica*, III., 177-85; Schrader, *COT*, II., 39-43.

³ Inscription of Ashurbanipal, cf. *KB*, II., 238 f.; Schrader, *COT*, II., 39-43.

⁴ Cf. Schrader, *COT*, II., 53-9.

⁵ In order to show very clearly the relation of the descriptive and predictive elements, and to distinguish between the predictions which relate to the immediate future and those which relate to the more remote future, the entire material is given in one list, descriptive sections in roman type, predictions of the immediate future in *italic*, and predictions of the remote future in **black-faced type**.

- 3) *The impending judgment upon objects of nature, idols, men and women*, 2 : 12-4 : 1.
- 4) **The purification of Zion**, 4 : 2-6.
- 5) The vine and its bad fruit—woes, Is. 5 : 1-24.
- 6) The judgments already sent (blighted crops, war, anarchy, internecine strife, defeat), 5 : 25 ; 9 : 8-10 : 4.
- 7) *The great judgment about to come (foreign invasion)*, 5 : 26-30.
- 8) The publication of Isaiah's inaugural vision, 6.
- 9) Isaiah's unavailing message to Ahaz, Is. 7 : 1-9.
- 10) **The sign—Immanuel, given to Ahaz**, 7 : 10-17.
- 11) *Pictures of future desolation*, 7 : 18-25.
- 12) *Tablet Maher-shalal-hash-baz*, 8 : 1-4.
- 13) *The coming of the River, Assyria*, 8 : 5-8.
- 14) An exhortation to fear Jehovah, 8 : 9-15.
- 15) Prayer for the preservation of his message, 8 : 16-18.
- 16) Warning not to resort to necromancy, 8 : 19-20.
- 17) Darkness of the times, 8 : 21-22.
- 18) **Future light, joy, liberty, peace, and the child**, 9 : 1-7.
- 19) *The impending destruction of Damascus*, 17 : 1-11.
- 20) *The coming judgment upon Samaria and Judah*, Mic. 1 : 2-16.
- 21) The sins of the leaders the occasion of the judgment, Mic. 2, 3.
- 22) *The coming judgment upon Samaria*; evil politicians, Isa. 28.
- 23) *Egypt's terror at Jehovah's approach*; her conversion to Jehovah, Isa. 19(?).
- 24) *Egypt shall be taken captive*; Judah dismayed, Isa. 20.
- 25) The vision of the fall of Babylon, Isa. 21 : 1-10.
- 26) The story of Hezekiah's sickness and recovery, Isa. 38.
- 27) The present of Merodach-Baladan; the rebuke of Isaiah, 39.
- 28) **The exaltation of Jehovah's house**, Mic. 4 : 1-4.
- 29) **The people restored**; the Davidic kingdom revived, Mic. 4 : 5-10.
- 30) *The chosen people changed*, Mic. 4 : 11-13,
- 31) **The birth of a new ruler and his dominion**, Mic. 5 : 1-8.
- 32) **The destruction of warlike implements and of idols**, 5 : 10-15.

- 33) The mistaken policy of the Egyptian party; *the terrible approach of Jehovah, and the coming of the Assyrian army; the times of peace and righteousness beyond.* Isa. 29-32.
- 34) *The Assyrian army, now in the North, shall suddenly perish, while Judah shall survive,* 10:5-23.
- 35) *Why should Judah fear? Assyria is close upon us, but shall perish,* 10:24-34.
- 36) David's sprout shall spring forth, righteousness, and universal peace, 11:1-9.
- 37) In spite of difficulties, this picture of peace will be realized, 11:10-16.
- 38) The song of redeemed Israel on that glorious day, 12:1-6.
- 39) *Assyria's army shall be broken,* 14:24-27.
- 40) *Assyria's army shall suddenly perish,* 17:12-14.
- 41) Ethiopia's help is not needed; Jehovah is sufficient, 18.
- 42) *Assyria shall perish, Judah prosper;* Judah's present distress, but the glory, security, and delight of the new state, 33.
- 43) The narrative of the speech of Sennacherib's officer, the request, its refusal, etc., 36.
- 44) Hezekiah's grief; the message to Isaiah; the answer, 37:1-7.
- 45) A second message, Hezekiah's prayer; Isaiah's answer, the destruction of the Assyrian army, 37:8-35.
- 46) Hymnal celebration of the wonderful deliverance, Pss. 40, 47, 48, 76, 75(?).
- 47) Psalms having their origin at some time during this period.
 - a) The supplication of a prophet, Ps. 12.
 - b) A sick-bed experience, Pss. 6 and 30.
 - c) An honest complaint, Ps. 39.
 - d) A nobleman's defense, Ps. 62.
 - e) A sacrificial song, Ps. 66:13-20.
- 48) Jehovah's controversy with the people because they have abandoned him, Mic. 6:1-5.
- 49) Jehovah's sharp denunciation of the people, Mic. 6:9-16.
- 50) Judah is wicked, corrupt, rotten, Mic. 7:1-6.
- 51) Jehovah is a jealous God, inflicting vengeance on his enemies, but a fortress for his people, Nah. 1:1-8.

- 52) *Jehovah will destroy Nineveh and free Judah, 1:9-14.*
- 53) *The means, manner and cause of Nineveh's destruction 2:1-3:7.*
- 54) *The absolute certainty that all this will take place, 3:8-19*

4. THE PROPHETIC WORK.

1) *Isaiah.*

- a) His skill in adjusting himself to circumstances.
- b) His methods of handling material.
- c) His use of figurative language.
- d) His fondness for contrast.
- e) His literary style.
- f) His power as an orator.
- g) His work as a politician or statesman.
 - (1) In connection with Ahaz.
 - (2) In connection with Hezekiah.
 - (3) His home policy.
 - (4) His foreign policy.

2) *Micah.*

- a) The evidence that he regards the situation from the countryman's point of view.
- b) Irony, paronomasia, simplicity, energy.
- c) Points in respect to which he had deeper insight than Isaiah.

3) *Nahum.*

- a) The question of his residence, Judah or Assyria.
- b) The literary style.
- c) The immediate purpose.

4) *Prophetism of 740-640 B.C.*

- 1. The first half of the century.
 - 1) In relation to the monarchy.
 - 2) In relation to the priesthood.
 - 3) In public affairs.
- 2. The second half the century.
 - 1) In large measure lacking.
 - 2) Antagonized by the monarchy.

5. SUMMARIES OF THE PERIOD.¹1. *Ideas concerning "Right living," "Worship," Covenant."*

1. In Isaiah and Micah, prophetism in its labor for "righteousness" seems to reach its climax. They speak against monopolists, short-sighted politicians, ministers of state, corrupt judges, perverters of moral distinctions, the masses themselves in their faithlessness, and in their proneness to the most debasing acts. They plead for the orphan and widow. Life, public and private, is scrutinized and held up to view. Luxury and extravagance, debauchery and drunkenness, injustice and corruption, hypocrisy and scepticism are rebuked.
2. Formal worship and routine ceremonial are denounced, as of no value, indeed injurious. Jehovah cannot endure it. He wishes purity and uprightness.
3. The relationship of Jehovah to his people is one which cannot be broken. While he must punish them, he must also be faithful to his covenant. Hence there will be a "remnant" to which these promises will be fulfilled.

2. *Ideas concerning "God."*

1. The *majesty* of God is largely dwelt upon.
2. The holiness of God is the most conspicuous attribute
3. The new name, "Holy (=faithful) one of Israel."
4. The love and longsuffering of God.
5. The jealousy of God.
6. The "oneness" of God.

3. *Ideas concerning "Man," "Sin," "Death."*

1. Israel's troubles all due to the sin of the nation.
2. This sin largely that of the leaders.
3. Israel has been a sinner from the beginning; the state is completely rotten.

¹ For Isaiah and the other prophets of this period, cf. R. P. Smith, *Prophecy a Preparation for Christ*, 254-322; Duham, *Die Theologie der Propheten*, 149-93; W. R. Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*, 191-373; Orelli, *O. T. Prophecy*, 255-313; Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, 180-219; Kirkpatrick, *The Doctrine of the Prophets*, 141-252.

4. The only satisfactory punishment for the national sin is death of the nation.
4. *Ideas concerning "Deliverance."*
 1. The nation must first pass through a judgment; this, in the case of Northern Israel, is the destruction of Samaria; in the case of Judah, that of Jerusalem.
 2. A feature of this judgment is the captivity, which shall follow the destruction. Micah sees the Babylonian exile.
 3. Israel is to take a great place among the nations in the future. Restoration will take place, and harmony; the nation will be honored by all nations, who, indeed, will accept Israel's religion.
 4. Afterwards, the ideal kingdom will be established; no more war, universal peace.
 5. The ruler of this kingdom will be a child, born under peculiar circumstances, of David's line, a reformer, divinely endowed, extending blessings to the whole world, a ruler of peace. Isaiah and Micah picture this ideal personage. The time of his coming is indefinite, but the coming and the character of it are certain.

HOW SHOULD THE BIBLE BE STUDIED IN THE SUNDAY SCHOOL.

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THIS question has derived an increased importance and a fresh pungency from the change which has taken place in our view of the Bible as a result of the application of scientific methods to biblical study during the past quarter of a century. Until recently the question would have been answered simply and directly in accordance with the prevailing idea of the plenary inspiration and verbal inerrancy of the Sacred Scriptures. To a great extent "the higher criticism" has compelled a new and in many respects different answer. It is no wonder that many Sunday School teachers are perplexed. Some of them have read enough of the "findings" and arguments of critical scholars to know that it is no longer possible to teach the Bible in the old way; yet most of these are not sufficiently familiar with critical results and methods to use them with confidence and skill. Some seek to evade all questions of authorship, of chronology, of discrepancy in statements of fact and religious teaching, and of historic development, and confine themselves solely to the illustrative and practical use of the Bible, particularly of the Old Testament, in enforcing familiar religious and moral ideas. Their attempt, however, does not save them from embarrassment, for they are continually disturbed by difficulties that rise both in their own minds and in the minds of some of their pupils. Others take refuge in a frank and determined conservatism and by a *tour de force* endeavor to compel resistant and incredulous pupils to accept the old view of the Bible as *ipsissimis verbis*, the dictation of the Holy Spirit.

The Sunday school teachers, especially the Bible class teachers of these days deserve the sympathy and the help of careful biblical scholars. Their position is one of extreme difficulty. For many of them, like the sad poet, are

Between two worlds,—
One dead, one waiting to be born.

Fortunately, however, with all the difficulty of their situation they can find in the Bible abundant material of moral and spiritual instruction which is in no way invalidated or even rendered doubtful by the results of critical investigation.

Before I proceed to a somewhat detailed answer to the question which forms the caption of this article, I desire to say some things by way of prelude.

In the first place we must recognize the fact that a change of view has so far been accomplished as to estop intelligent denial. The movement of modern thought on the Bible cannot with safety or profit be ignored. That movement is not the result of caprice, or of an "unsanctified heart" and consequent hostility to evangelical religion. The higher criticism is carried on by men who are not only able and honest, but also, many of them, profoundly religious. "Truth is the strong thing," said Browning, and it is love of truth and unwearying devotion to the search for truth to which, more than to any thing else, the present changed conception of the Scriptures is due. For good or ill, I firmly believe for good, the old idea of the Bible is passing never to return. We shall go back to it no more than we shall go back to the Ptolemaic Astronomy. It would be a greater misfortune to go back to it than it would be to go back to the Ptolemaic Astronomy.

In the second place we must recognize the importance of right methods. The Bible equally with all other subjects of investigation, should be studied rationally. Because of its supreme importance, the Bible will yield to rational study the richest results.

It follows from this truth, that the Sunday school teacher today must qualify himself as never before for his work. The time has passed when "anybody can teach in the Sunday school." Already we have this anomalous condition in our churches, that often the preacher has to undo in the pulpit what has been mistakenly done in the Sunday school room. It must be said also, that the Sunday school, in many quarters, is losing its power over the more mature boys and girls, as well as over adults, because the teaching in both substance and method, is behind the times. It is impossible long to keep the Sunday school alive and in the best sense prosperous if archaic notions of the Bible are perpetuated in the teaching; and the attempt to perpetuate those notions is fraught with mischief, for they are preventive of a true idea of Christianity. A superficial knowledge of the main results of scientific biblical study is imparted to a considerable number of people in many congregations by the periodical press. This compels the minister to give some heed to these results in his sermons, and the disparity between the teaching in the Sunday school and the teaching in the pulpit, where, as is too often the case, such disparity exists, is demoralizing. There is need, in both Sunday school and pulpit, of entire frankness in the treatment of questions that arise about the Bible. More harm is done by evasion than by answers that at first unsettle traditional beliefs; and confessed ignorance on the part of the teacher is far less mischievous than wilful refusal to give any attention to conclusions which careful scholars have reached and announced.

Intrinsically the Bible is the most interesting volume in the world; it is often made uninteresting and even repulsive by a treatment of it that is lacking in intelligence and in fearless respect for truth.

But if there is need of frankness there is need also of wisdom. The

spirit of reverence is absolutely necessary to any profitable handling of the Bible. More than that, there should be a sensitive regard for the weakness of those who are ignorant and unskilled in intellectual discrimination. The teacher who busies himself mainly with what he is pleased to call "the defects of the Bible" will not be likely to perceive its unequalled merits. The mere iconoclast is out of place in the chair of the religious teacher.

As to method in the study of the Bible I offer but one or two remarks.

The various books of the Bible should be studied in their proper character as *literature*. Poetry must not be hardened into prose nor heroic legend confounded with bald statement of fact. The various books should be considered also in connection with the circumstances and conditions, social, political and religious, out of which they rose. And, still more, they should be studied, not piecemeal, but in their integrity. The Bible is not an arsenal of proof-texts; when it is made such it is abused and a large part of its charm and of its worth is taken away.

The Bible should be studied in the light of the fundamental truth that it is the product and the record of an historic development through which has come a divine revelation. This fundamental truth is somewhat obscured by the common arrangement of books, particularly in the Old Testament. The ordinary Sunday school teacher thinks of the common order as strictly chronological, from Genesis to Revelation, while for example, it is now a commonplace of biblical knowledge that a large part of the Pentateuch is later than the prophets, Amos, Hosea, the first Isaiah, etc., and most of the Psalms are post-exilic. The historic development of the Scriptures does not appear to the ordinary reader of the English version, but it unquestionably appears to him who studies these Scriptures carefully in the light of recent investigation. The discovery of this historic development gives a new interest and meaning to the Bible and lets one deeply into the method of divine revelation. When, by careful study, one has grasped the real connection between the prophecies and Hebrew history he has opened a treasury of truths that enrich both his mind and his heart.

The Bible should be studied also with the resolute purpose to discriminate between the essential and the incidental. There is no greater obstacle to an intelligent understanding and interpretation of the Bible than the indiscriminate confounding of values which was once so common as to be almost universal. The details of Hebrew history are both interesting and valuable, but they are not to be compared in interest and value with the progressive disclosure to the Hebrew mind of the nature and will of God, the meaning of righteousness and the divine purpose of human redemption which attains culminating expression in the person and life of Jesus Christ. That a particular psalm was not written by David but by some unknown poet of the Babylonian captivity is interesting to the scholar, but the deep religious meaning of the psalm is of value to all who would nourish the spiritual life. It

is of interest to know what Hebrews of the seventh or fifth century before Christ thought of sacrifice and its effect on man's relation to God, but it is far more valuable to know that "the sacrifices of God are a broken spirit," whether in the fifth century before or in the nineteenth century after Christ.

Finally, the Bible should be studied with a right motive. The desire for knowledge is a commendable motive, and he who studies the Bible simply in order to know its history, structure and contents is profitably engaged. But we should have a deeper motive. In a preëminent sense the Bible is a source of truth that concerns life, and character and destiny. It should be studied, then, with constant view to the practical ends of furnishing a rational basis of religious faith and a trustworthy guide of daily conduct. Truth attaining its legitimate end in right character—this is the proper outcome of biblical study in the Sunday school. Experience has amply proved that the Bible, despite defective ideas of its structure and date and sources, may yield a divine aid in the culture of the heart and the conduct of life. It will do this not less, but more, abundantly the better it is known. Fuller knowledge may strip away many superstitions and mistaken notions of God's method in dealing with man, but it will give more than it takes away and what it gives will abide, a permanent treasure.

Exploration and Discovery.

THE RECENT EXCAVATIONS AT CORINTH.

When the announcement was made last winter that the authorities of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens had decided to undertake the excavation of ancient Corinth the project was probably greeted with some misgiving by many of those who have witnessed the utter desolation that now reigns over the extensive site of the once populous and splendid city, and called to mind the many visitations of war and earthquake which at last leveled the mistress of the seas to the earth. If fate had not dealt far more harshly with Corinth than with her sister cities doubtless one might reasonably have expected today that her ruins would yield a richer harvest to the excavator's spade and would furnish more valuable material to the student of Greek civilization than those of any Greek city after Athens. But Corinth alone of all Greek cities incurred the unrelenting wrath of Rome, who usually posed as the champion of Hellenic freedom, ostensibly on account of some violation on her part of diplomatic etiquette, but really because of her prosperity, and so she shared with that other unhappy commercial rival, Carthage, the doom of utter destruction. Cicero gives us to believe that the Romans did the work thoroughly. *Corinthis vestigium vix relictum est*, he says, adding that his countrymen razed her to the ground with the intention that she should not rise again. Her walls, her temples, and her homes were first looted and then destroyed. Rome and all Italy were filled with the spoils taken by Mummius from her temples. In after years even the graves of her dead were ransacked by the degenerate settlers to furnish merchandise to the traders who supplied Roman nobles with antiquities wherewith to adorn their homes. But Cæsar rebuilt the city and restored it to something of its ancient splendor. This was the city where St. Paul lived and preached—the city still of Aphrodite, as we clearly see from the first letter to the Corinthians. But the Turk, Venetian, and earthquake succeeding one another did for Paul's Corinth what Mummius had done for the Corinth of Arion and Periander. Today a little handful of wretched hovels occupies the site, and only the seven columns of the old temple and the potsherds which every footstep turns up in the loose soil reveal the fact of its ancient habitation.

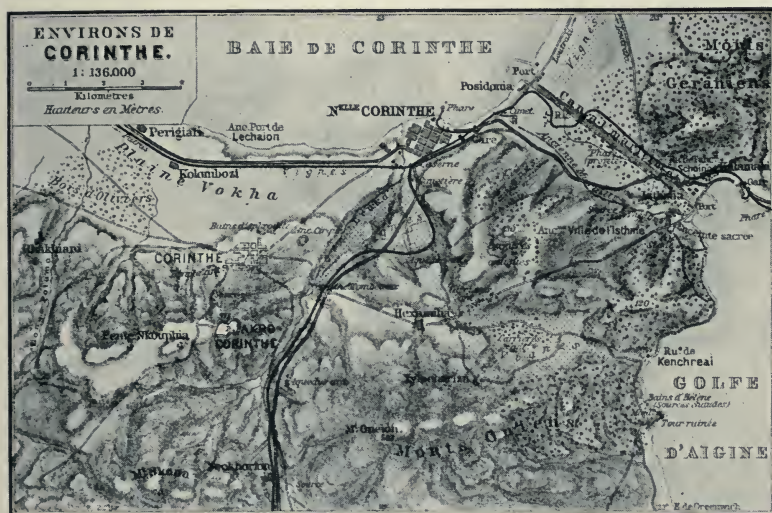
But the very fact of the existence today of the ruins of a temple which dates back to the sixth or seventh century gave the director of the American school, Professor Richardson, who is no timid explorer, some reason to hope

that the total destruction (Cicero's words are *funditus sustulerunt*) of Corinth was perhaps no more complete than was the destruction of the monuments on the Acropolis at Athens. Ancient Greek writers were very positive in their assertion that Xerxes left no stone standing on another when he captured the citadel, but the pre-Persian finds that have been made on the Acropolis are now reckoned among the most valuable treasures of the Athenian museums. The modern explorer is less fastidious than the ancient conqueror. He is content to possess the statues which Xerxes did not think worth his while to break to pieces and which the Roman general would have scorned to dedicate to his gods at home. Then Pausanias, who described Corinth some 217 years after Cæsar had rebuilt it, often has occasion to mention ἀρχαία πράγματα, some of which may still be lying beneath the soil. One has also fair reason to expect a large number of inscriptions, which alone would repay the cost of excavation for the light they would throw on the history of the city which played so large a part in the history of Greece.

But there were other practical difficulties to be taken into consideration by the one who proposed to lay old Corinth bare. The area covered by the ancient population of 300,000 souls was about five miles in its circumference. The position of none of the landmarks mentioned by Pausanias was known, except a few spots in the neighborhood of the Acrocorinth. Even the solitary temple has never been identified with certainty with any one of those given in the long list of the periegete. With no help, then, in topographical matters from Pausanias, who, in spite of his curious lapses and his puzzling itineraries, deserves the credit for a large part of the success of modern excavators, from Schliemann to Dörpfeld, one had to reckon with the grave possibility of having, at the end of the first season's work, only a number of scattered trenches, dug at great expense at points where the divination of the explorers saw the chance of a find or the likelihood of hitting upon the track of Pausanias—and nothing more. Trial trenches have a way of skirting, without disclosing, important objects, and are as likely as not to lead to disappointment, even on a promising site. At Corinth they were inevitable, and a fruitless campaign at the beginning, with no discovery of sufficient importance to attract attention to the work and thus to draw funds for the further prosecution of the undertaking, would in all probability have resulted in the mournful refilling of the trenches and the abandonment of the site to the richer schools of the French or the Germans, which are better able to weather an unprofitable season.

With such a possibility of failure staring him in the face, Professor Richardson turned his face away from smaller but more certain fields of labor toward Corinth. He is an enthusiastic explorer, and knows too well the importance for archæology and for history of a definite knowledge of what lies under the soil of the Isthmus to be deterred from even so problematical

a venture. Perhaps his success at Eretria, a field which offers the same practical problems to the excavator, and where no Pausanias is there to guide, gave him courage for the undertaking. He is, moreover, strongly drawn to problems of topography, no less than to the more exciting search for treasures of bronze and marble. And Corinth was sure to furnish fascinating topographical problems to solve if once a starting-point were found.



ENVIRONS OF CORINTH

From Baedeker's "Greece"

Professor Richardson, ably seconded by Professor Wheeler of Cornell, the associate director for the year, began the actual work of excavation in March. The right to dig was easy to obtain, because the site of ancient Corinth has attracted few settlers since the earthquake of 1858, which completed the destruction of the city of Cæsar, and the poor soil is only sparsely cultivated. Some twenty trial trenches were sunk here and there. The accumulated soil, most of it washed down from the Acrocorinth, was found to vary from fifteen to twenty feet in depth. A hundred men were employed, who had no better implements than the pick, shovel, and the small reed-woven basket or bag in which native laborers carry earth. To judge by the reports which have reached us through the newspapers, most of these trenches, dug so laboriously, led to no discovery of importance. But at the bottom of one of them was found the theater, the building of all others which the excavators had hoped to find. Yet one cannot but think of the anxious

two months of trench-digging in vain, crowned only at the very last by the decisive result.

To appreciate the importance of the discovery of the theater, we must turn to Pausanias. He says that most of the temples were grouped about the agora, and he makes the agora the central point to which the tourist is supposed to return after each sight-seeing excursion. The agora, of course, would be the best thing to find. But in order to discover its location it would be necessary to have uncovered the whole area over which it extended. Fortunately, however, Pausanias gives a clue to its discovery. As you pass out of the agora on the road to Sicyon, he says, you see on your right a temple to Apollo, and a little beyond is the spring Glaucê. Above the spring is the Odeion, and by this a monument to the children of the sorceress Medea. Not far from this monument is the temple of Athenê Chalinitis, which lies near the theater (πρὸς τῇ θεάτρῳ), while above the theater (ὑπὲρ τὸ θέατρον) is the temple of Capitoline Jupiter. It will be seen that, starting with an approximate knowledge of the location of the road to Sicyon, we are put definitely on the track of Pausanias by the finding of the theater, and it is now a comparatively easy task to work one's way back to the center of the city's life, the agora. A theater can be recognized at once by its peculiar structure, but one temple is like unto another. The excavators wisely decided to cling close to the ruins of the old temple as the one remaining landmark of old Corinth, and the theater was discovered about a quarter of a mile to the west of it. The temple is now identified provisionally with that of Apollo in the account of Pausanias. Thus, as the result of the first season's work, Professor Richardson can look forward with confidence to the final restoration of the ground plan of ancient Corinth and to the identification of its most important buildings.

To archaeologists the theater itself, if in good preservation, will probably prove of greater interest at the present time than would any other single structure. On account of the weighty problems now under discussion in connection with the history of the drama, which can be settled only by the discovery of new theaters, it is to be hoped that the American School, which has hitherto taken the lead in the exploration of theater buildings, will speedily give to the world whatever contribution the theater at Corinth may supply in this direction. A "magnificent Greek stone" has been found to the east of the temple. This seems to point to the neighborhood of the agora. Several dwelling houses have been uncovered. Several pieces of statuary have come to light, but nothing of great consequence. The harvest of Greek inscriptions has been disappointingly small, but many interesting Roman inscriptions were found. The find of a considerable number of vases also deserves mention. Altogether the yield of minor objects from the trenches is by no means discouraging, and one may count on important results as soon as large spaces are cleared.

As has been said, the Corinth which we may hope thus to regain will be the Corinth of St. Paul. Possibly one of the houses which the future visitor to the uncovered city will see was the house of Chloe, messenger from which told Paul of the dissensions which prompted the first letter to the Corinthians, while another may be the home of Stephanas, the first-fruits of Achæa. The excavators have already dubbed one of the houses found "the house of Sosthenes the brother," though, to tell the truth, it does not appear that Sosthenes was a resident of Corinth. No single spot in Corinth, however, stands out in bold relief through its association with Paul, as does the Areopagus at Athens. In fact no distinctly topographical interest attaches to Corinth on account of the apostle. But the resurrection of the city which the great preacher and philosopher loved so well, where he lived and toiled for eighteen months, where he planted and Apollos watered the little church which had to struggle so bravely against wickedness from within and from without, and, above all, the city whose name will always be memorable, if for no other reason, through its association with Paul's two grand epistles, cannot fail to be a matter of moment to all students of the Bible, as well as to all students of Greek civilization.

EDWARD CAPPS.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

THE Summer Schools of the Institute have met with marked success in all parts of the country. Official reports from some of these have not yet been received but the following facts will be representative of all the schools.

At Chautauqua, N. Y., there were enrolled in all departments, Hebrew, New Testament Greek, and the English Bible, one hundred and sixty students. Daily sessions were held through six weeks and under five instructors.

The Saturday morning conference was an interesting feature. At these conferences many of the most fundamental questions connected with the study of the Bible, the results of the Higher Criticism and their effect upon the practical use of the Bible, were freely presented and discussed. The students represented twenty-two different states and the Dominion of Canada. Contrary to the usual notion of Chautauqua as a Methodist institution, the Presbyterians presented thirty-two students over against twenty-three from the Methodist denomination. The Baptists and Congregationalists followed with fourteen and thirteen respectively. In addition there were representatives from the following : Protestant Episcopal, United Presbyterian, Lutheran, Disciples, Jewish, Reformed, Universalist, Christian, Methodist Episcopal South.

Thirty-eight of the students were college graduates, and several held still higher degrees. The tenor of these facts holds true of all the summer schools. It is therefore unnecessary to repeat them in each connection.

In the University of Chicago sixty-two students were enrolled in the classes in Hebrew, six in Assyrian, sixty-eight in New Testament Greek and twenty-six in Biblical Literature in English. This presents the work of only the first term. The second term is now in progress. The figures given do not include the several series of public lectures given by Professor George Adam Smith and others.

At Bay View, Mich., where the work was under the direction of Professor F. K. Sanders, there were about one hundred and twenty-five students. The most helpful class was one in which practical work in methods of historical study was required. Some of the results obtained in this class were exceptionally good. The course in Biblical Sociology, by Professor Graham Taylor, was also well attended. The school at Bay View is permanently under the control of the Institute and it is possible to plan the work so as to make a progressive series of courses from year to year.

At Monteagle, Tenn., and Lakeside, Ohio, where Professor Lincoln Hulley has for several years conducted the Institute work, the attendance was unusually large. At these assemblies the work is public, no tuition fee being charged as at the schools mentioned above. The figures, therefore, should not be compared on the same basis. At Monteagle eleven sessions were held with an average attendance of four hundred. At Lakeside thirty lectures were given with an average attendance of two hundred. At both these places frequent conferences upon home study were held. Every representative of the Institute feels that his work is but half done until it is supplemented by the endeavor to inspire people to continue their systematic study of the Bible through the year.

At Lake Madison, S. Dak., where there is only a small assembly, fifteen lectures on the Apostolic Church were given, with an average audience of twenty-five.

At Winfield, Kan., two courses, one in the New Testament and one in the Old Testament, under Dr. H. L. Willett, attracted audiences averaging seven hundred and fifty. These were among the largest audiences of the Assembly. At Macatawa Park, a small assembly, connected with the Society of Christian Endeavor, one hundred listened to the daily lecture by Dr. Willett on the Beginnings of Christianity.

At all of the places named schools have been conducted by the Institute in previous years and are now well established.

Seven new schools were inaugurated at the following places: At Eagle Lake, Ind., at the Winona Assembly, ten lectures were given by Professor A. K. Crawford, and an average attendance of one hundred and fifty is reported. Professor Crawford also represented the Institute at the Louisiana Assembly in Ruston, La. Here the sixteen lectures on Messianic Prophecy were open only to regularly enrolled students in the school. Notwithstanding this the membership in the class was fifty, a number larger than in any other one subject taught.

At the Rocky Mountain Assembly in Colorado the work of Professor W. F. Steele was also a part of the school work and an attendance of forty was registered. Dr. Steele also lectured on general biblical topics, "The Unchaining of our English Bible" and kindred subjects.

At Des Moines, Ia., a new assembly, Professor H. L. Willett presented the subject of Old Testament History. Five hundred people are reported as regular attendants upon these lectures. This assembly has started out with the intention of making Bible study an important feature, and the success of the first year will undoubtedly warrant the continuance of this policy.

At Jackson, Tenn., the National Sunday School Seminary has become a permanent department of the Southwestern Baptist University. At this school Dr. T. G. Soares delivered eighteen lectures on Old Testament History. His scientific and liberal work met with general approval, and a

most interesting opening was thus made in the South. The average attendance was seventy.

The remaining schools, Perth Springs, Mo., and Saratoga Springs, N. Y., are now in session and have not yet been reported upon. From the above it will be seen, however, that in all the summer schools of the Institute about twenty-five hundred students have received instruction.

New announcements of the home courses of the Institute are now ready. They may be secured in any quantity for distribution. A special offer of a free membership for one year in the Bible Students' Reading Guild, or in the Outline Bible Club course is made to any minister who will carefully examine the work for himself and who will distribute three hundred circulars with a word of commendation in his church or vicinity. The subject in the Bible Students' Reading Guild for the current year is the Foreshadowings of the Christ, a study of Old Testament history and prophecy; that in the Outline Bible Club course is Old Testament Literature, a study of the work of the Hebrew sages.

Notes and Opinions.

Melchisedek.—Professor Sayce is the advocate, in season and out of season, of a theory which claims to find the substantiation of Melchisedek as an historical character in certain references of the Tel-el-Amarna tablets. One of these letters is from the governor of Jerusalem, Ebed-tob, who writes, according to Sayce, "Behold! neither my father nor my mother has exalted me in this place. The prophecy of the mighty king has caused me to enter the house of my father." Professor Sayce holds that the "mighty king" referred to here is the god of Jerusalem, Ninib, and therefore this king of Jerusalem claims to receive his authority from God, that is, to be a priest-king. Evidently, therefore, we have here a successor of Melchisedek, priest of the Most High God and king of Jerusalem (Gen. 14:18). Professor Driver, in the *Guardian*, denied the validity of this argumentation of Professor Sayce. In his answer to Professor Driver in the *Expository Times* for June, reprinted in the July number, Sayce holds that the title "mighty king" is never used of the Pharaoh of Egypt; that for the king of Jerusalem to say that he was (not a governor but) a "friend" or "ally" of the Pharaoh, who had been raised by the oracle or arm of the mighty king (meaning Pharaoh) would be nonsense. A reply is given by Professor Driver in the July number, in which he denies the validity of the argument of Professor Sayce from the title "mighty king," arguing that the context points to the application of this title to Pharaoh, denying also that there is any nonsense made of the passage by its interpretation as applying to the Egyptian king. He concludes by the assertion that, even if the reference is to the god of Jerusalem, between this governor of Jerusalem and Melchisedek a period of at least nine hundred years intervenes. He asks whether we may argue from a condition of things at the period of the Tel-el-Amarna tablets to a similar state of affairs nearly a thousand years before. He says: "Literally the inscriptions establish no point of contact whatever between Ebed-tob and Melchisedek. Even, therefore, though Professor Sayce's philological interpretations be accepted, my own position remains unaffected; the testimony borne by the Tel-el-Amarna tablets to the historical character of Melchisedek is absolutely nugatory and valueless."

The cut in the center of the cover of our present issue is inserted not for its intrinsic beauty, nor because of any direct relation to biblical history, but because of its connection with Corinth, to which the excavations now in prog-

gress are directing fresh attention. Sculptural remains from Corinth, once so magnificently adorned with works of art, are extremely few. Kabbadias in his Catalogue of the National Museum (at Athens) mentions but two. Of these the one which we reproduce is a gravestone, to use the modern term, of one Alcias, a Phocian. Kabbadias thus describes it: Alcias is represented as a nude warrior with his back turned to view, wearing a helmet, and having a



tunic rolled together and thrown over his left arm in such way that it reaches to the ground. He holds in the left hand a shield and in the right a javelin, and stands in attitude of attack, facing to the left and trampling under foot the corpse of a naked foe lying outstretched, defending himself with the shield and thrusting forward with his spear in such way that he has the upper part of his body inclined forward and his legs are stretched wide apart.

Kabbadias thinks the monument cannot be later than the third century B.C.

Professor Petrie's New "Israel" Inscription and its Interpretation.—The discovery of the Merenptah slab containing the name of Israel has let loose a flood of communications and discussions as to its meaning and bearing upon the account of the Exodus. It is interesting to observe how widely writers differ on these points. Professor Sayce, writing in the *Sunday School Times* of July 11, 1896, concludes that "at any rate the theory which saw in Merenptah the Pharaoh of the Exodus has received a confirmation." Professor Max Müller, writing in the *Independent* of July 9, 1896, says that this inscription overthrows the current theory that Merenptah is the Pharaoh of the Exodus. It seems difficult to understand how two scholars could reach such absolutely contradictory conclusions.

The particular passage is as follows: "*Israel has been torn out without offshoot* (Müller); or "*The Israelites are minished so that they have no seed*" (Sayce). The points of importance about which a decision gathers may be said to be the following: (1) All agree that it is Israel that is referred to here; not, for example, Jezreel. (2) The determinative for Israel is not that of city or land, but that which means "foreign people," or, as Mr. Sayce holds, "a tribe," not "a settled people." (3) The strange expression here, "without offshoot or seed," irresistibly suggests the measure of Pharaoh by which the male children of the Israelites were put to death. This measure, however, has generally been ascribed to Ramses II, the Pharaoh of the oppression, not to Merenptah, whose accession is thought to come later in the Book of Exodus. (4) It is in dispute whether the position of this statement respecting the Israelites in the inscription, lying as it does between a passage referring to cities of Palestine and a passage mentioning Palestine itself, argues in favor of the Israelites being in Palestine at this time. If they were, then (a) the Exodus was already passed, or (b) the reference is to the Israelites living in Palestine in addition to those living in Egypt. Professor Marshall, writing in the *Expositor* of July 1896, accepts this latter interpretation, and refers to 1 Chronicles 7:22, which "represents the sons of Ephraim penetrating into Canaan as far as Gath." Dr. Sellin, writing in *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, vii:6, holds that it is not necessary to infer from the inscription that the Israelites were in Palestine. He would conclude that Merenptah, as well as Ramses II, was a Pharaoh who oppressed Israel, and not the Pharaoh of the Exodus; that he, therefore, was the author of the measure mentioned in Exodus 1, and refers to it in this inscription. He would hold with Maspero that the Exodus took place after Merenptah in the troubled time between the nineteenth and twentieth dynasties.

Professor Müller, on the other hand, suggests that the Exodus had taken place before both Merenptah and Ramses II, basing his theory upon the existence of names in Palestine like "Asher," "Jacob-el," "Joseph-el" and "Bit-ya" (that is, "House of Jah") in the lists of Thutmose—all these names being long antecedent to the time of Merenptah. He is strongly

tempted to place the Exodus at the beginning of the eighteenth dynasty. Sellin justly objects to placing the Exodus at an earlier period, saying that we should expect, both in the Egyptian inscriptions and in the Hebrew narratives themselves, more definite references to Israel in Palestine if they were settled there as the books of Joshua and Judges represent them. Yet we have not the least reference in the books of Joshua and Judges to an Egyptian domination of Israel, although we know perfectly well that Ramses II was lord of Palestine for the latter half of his long reign.

In *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, vii: 7, Professor Hommel argues (1) that Merenptah was never in Palestine; (2) that the inscription refers to the Libyan invasion of Merenptah's fifth year; (3) that it is highly poetical; (4) exaggerated; (5) that the Israelites were not in Palestine at this time; (6) that the reference to them here proves that they were regarded by Merenptah as connected with the troubles accompanying the Libyan invasion; (8) that therefore they had but just left Egypt in the confused period following the death of Ramses II.

It is, therefore, very uncertain at present what we are to make out of this new find. It seems to be the general impression among scholars that darkness rather than light has been spread abroad by it. But we have no doubt that more careful investigation and the discovery of new materials will enable us in the end to obtain a better understanding of this great crisis in Israel's history. It is significant that, in the latest utterances of Professor Wellhausen in his *History of Israel*, he accepts an Egyptian sojourn of Israel.

Synopses of Important Articles.

ON WHAT DID CHRIST BASE THE DISCIPLES' FAITH? (DIE CHRISTLICHE WELT, No. 23.)

It is a matter of prime necessity for every Christian to know upon what foundation to base his faith. To do this intelligently he must be able to understand the basis upon which Christ himself founded the faith of his disciples.

It might be thought that Christ, in order to convince his disciples of the truth of that which he taught, would appeal to the evidences of logical argumentation and thought. It is not so long ago when Christians did think that this was the correct method. But such was not the purpose of Christ. He did not enter the ranks of the philosophers. True it is that he made use of reason and argument. He fought his opponents by this method; he taught with wisdom his disciples. But he never attempted to demonstrate the truthfulness of his teachings by the necessary laws or sequence of thought. Had he tried to establish his kingdom by such processes, the bitter and ironical question of Pilate, What is truth? would have been in place.

Then it might be thought that Christ appealed to some written or personal authority in confirmation of his message. Many today yet think that the mere appeal to the authority of the Scriptures ends all controversy and establishes the truth of a position beyond a doubt, and claim that this method of founding one's faith has been learned from Christ's "It is written." However Christ did not attempt such a basis. Had he done so he would have taken the standpoint occupied by the Pharisees and the priests of the Jewish people. These, in truth, built up all their claims on the infallible authority of the written Word. But Christ stood on a better foundation. He regarded it as a matter of little importance to disregard customs of venerable antiquity. He opposed views hoary with age. In the Sermon on the Mount he opposes to the permission of a divorce, accorded in certain cases by Moses to the people, his own "But I say unto you." And he calls this treatment of the law not a breaking but a fulfilment, just as surely as a release from the imperfect conditions in the case of the divine law is a fulfilment of its real contents. It is true that Christ appealed to the Scriptures in defense of his own person. He refuted his opponents with the crude weapons (*groben Waffen*) which they themselves employed. He shows them that he could with as good a right as they appeal to the authority of the written Word. He showed them that better than they he had looked into the real spirit of the

law and had learned to understand its fundamental ideas. They were compelled to feel that the spirit of freedom in which he walked was not in contradiction with Moses and the prophets. But the claim that he was the Messiah and that he taught the truth, he did not base on an appeal to the authority of the Scriptures.

Nor did he do this on the authority of his own person. He says that his doctrine is *not* his own. He does not ask people to believe him because *he* says so, but because what he says is the truth. It is not *he* who shall judge them, but the words of truth themselves will judge them on the last day. He did not appeal to his personal authority, or he could not have said: "If I say the truth, why do ye not believe me?"

Christ demands faith on the part of his hearers because he speaks the *truth*. He tells them that he came into the world that he might testify of the truth. He has come to reveal to the world the eternal truth, the existence and being of God in their perfection. He lays claim to the faith of his hearers because he knows that he is really giving them a revelation, something that had never before been known. He knows himself to be the perfect revelation of God.

Truth, *i. e.*, reality (*Wirklichkeit*), was at all times the same, but men did not always know it. The laws of nature have been operative in the same order of things from the beginning, but they were not always understood. Only gradually did man's mind begin to fathom their philosophy and order. Only gradually did nature reveal her secrets to the investigations of the human race. So also, there is but one absolute moral law. The spirit and power of this law has for thousands of years blessed those who have submitted to its order, and punished those who resisted, although the innermost character of this law was not appreciated. Only gradually has mankind been able to understand this high system and to apply its principles. Christ, the revealer of the divine will, has removed the last veil that covered and concealed it. Religious truth, too, was always the same, for God is the same from eternity to eternity. But men did not know the truth. God was not far distant from each one of them and did not leave them without witness by which they could feel and find him. But their eyes were almost entirely blinded and their ungrateful and stupid hearts darkened the light of truth. Some truths they could discover, but the connection of truth they could not. Individual notes they could hear, but not the harmony and melody.

Christ it was who revealed to us ethical and religious truth. He was in possession of the organ to see what had always been present and to see it as it was. His soul was the mirror in which God's image was reflected for us. His words are true because they correspond exactly with eternal reality. His spirit agrees throughout with the Father, as the sun dial does with the sun. Where we have no eyes to see and no ears to hear, he saw the finger of the Father and heard the voice of the Father. Man cannot create truth, he can only say what he has heard. But the only begotten Son who has been in the

bosom of the Father has revealed us the truth. He possessed the Messianic power to understand the mind of the Father and to reveal his being. His walk and conversation, his whole life, were a revelation of the Father. Whosoever saw him saw also the Father, because his whole existence was nothing but an imitation of the Father, a picture of the Father. The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he sees the Father do. The absence of worry, which he enjoins upon his disciples, he has himself learned from the Father. The love of one's enemies, which he commands, he has learned from the Father. He bases his violation of the Sabbath observance of the Jews on the ground that his Father worketh hitherto, and hence he, too, is entitled to work. In demanding faith on the part of his hearers he does so for no other reason than that he knows the truth, because he testifies of that which he has seen and heard. The philosopher adduces that which is the result of his processes of thought; Christ draws from the original fountain. He sees the truth and does nothing else but give it utterance. We do not demand proofs for that which we have seen and heard. In the very seeing and hearing lie the evidences of reality. Therefore the Christ does not bring any further evidence for that which he has learned to know. He does nothing but testify of this. Christ reveals God to us. He testifies of eternal truth. In revealing these he furnishes a foundation for his disciples' faith. His words, his walk, his life, his death, show the being of God. Whosoever sees him sees a new light. But this does not suffice. The disciple must not only have light; he must also have an eye. For the blind even light is darkness.

Christ appeals to a sense for the truth which he already finds in the disciples. He appeals to their moral feeling. He presupposes in them ethical experiences and he here connects his teachings. Whenever he could not presuppose such an echo, as in the case of Herod, he finds it useless to speak and is silent. Nothing brings the moral sense of man to a complete awakening except the person of Christ. The appearance of Christ makes such a powerful impression that man cannot remain unmoved. Conscience is aroused and becomes an accuser. This wonderful impression of the person of Christ is a gift of God. Under the influence of him who has revealed the truth, the truth itself begins to speak to man. The spirit of God becomes active in him. The immediate influence of eternal reality overwhelms him, although this influence can be resisted, as is shown in the case of the Pharisees. In this way even yet Christ establishes faith in the believer. Not arguments of reason, not miracles and signs do this, but the revelation of the Father, as this appears in his wonderful person, is the means through which the hearts of men are opened to faith.

This article has representative as well as individual value. It is an expression of the positive dogmatical teaching of the newer school with reference to the foundation of faith, particularly as voiced by the influential Ritschl school in Germany. The newness and suggestiveness of the line of thought cannot be otherwise than stimulating, especially in suggesting other inquiries.

G. H. S.

THE PREPROPHETIC RELIGION OF ISRAEL By PROFESSOR C. H. TOY. In *The New World*, March, 1896, pp. 123-143.

The preprophetic period extends from Moses to Elijah, four centuries (1300-900 B.C.), embracing the boyhood and the youth of the nation, crude yet promising. (1) The literature of the period is not represented by any book preserved to us. There are books belonging to this period mentioned in J and E, the prophetic writers of the eighth and seventh centuries. These are the Book of Heroes and the Book of the Wars of Yahweh. A third work is mentioned by the Septuagint. Pieces of poetry like the Lamech Song or the Well Song may have belonged to these or other collections. All were poetical. It is probable that J and E are the first biblical prose writers. We have also the Lament over Saul and Jonathan and the Song of Deborah, which are the two chief memorials of the period. They show the germ of noble thought, but undeveloped. The real history of Hebrew literature begins after David and Solomon, the Old Testament itself being witness. Hence whether the Israelites of this period had and employed the art of writing, though archæologically interesting, is religiously of minor importance. The rise of literary composition seems to have been synchronous with that of prophecy. (2) The ritual of religious worship was simple. A small stone or pillar or a rude altar on a high hill or under a green tree, offerings at stated seasons, partaken of by priest and god and people alike, was the rule. In time all became more elaborate. The sacerdotal organization was vague. For some time there seems to have been no generally recognized priestly clan. Though Levites seem at an early time to be preferred, yet they have no stable position. David was the first great religious organizer; his work was continued by Solomon. (3) The object of worship was Yahweh, brought into Canaan by the Hebrews. They never acknowledged any other god as their national deity. Their idea of God was the same as that of the peoples around them,—his sphere practically unlimited within his community. The conquering Israelites bringing their God into the land of Baal found it necessary to pay honor to the local deity. The two orders of worship were fused. The mind of the Israelite of that time found no incongruity in recognizing the local god alongside his own ancestral deity. But as the nation grew in political stability and intellectual clearness this attitude became more and more difficult. This new Yahweh-Baal religion found its religious observances in the Canaanitish agricultural festivals and forms of worship, back of which lay many primitive ideas and usages, as tree worship (*asherah*), sacred waters, sacred stones, a possible totemism seen in the survivals of beast worship, a possible ancestral worship (*teraphim*). The folk religion finds an interesting example in the angel who is either the faded figure of an old deity or an original appearance of Yahweh whose crude anthropomorphism was thus softened by a later age. Magic lingered, but its legitimate use was past. Divination is seen in Samuel, who is also the primitive prophet and the one

who filled this word with a new meaning. There is no well-attested example of human sacrifice in this time. The future life is only once or twice referred to. (4) The most important fact in the religious organization was the tenacity with which they held to Yahweh as the national deity. All the good features of other gods were absorbed into him. His character in this period was not exalted. He reflected the ethical crudeness of the age, yet he was the center and soul of social unity. It was no theoretic idea that appeared at this time. Certain passages which look that way are of a later age. This adhesion to Yahweh has the germ of future greatness which is visible in the crude religion of the preprophetic times.

This is a thoroughgoing presentation of the religion of Israel from the radical point of view based upon criticism of the materials. Such articles are helpful when written, as is this one, from fullness of knowledge and objectively. It must be confessed that there is no really satisfying explanation of the power and influence which later Israelitish religion showed. Its germs do not seem to be here. There are references to the "peculiar genius" of the Israelites, etc., by which it seems that the writer would have us understand that he recognizes something unique in this people.

G. S. G.

Book Reviews.

Outline Study of Hebrew History from the Settlement of Canaan to the Fall of Jerusalem. By CHARLES FOSTER KENT, PH.D., Associate Professor of Biblical Literature and History, Brown University, 1895. For sale by Preston and Rounds, Providence, and by the American Baptist Publication Society. Pp. 62. Price 35c.

This little book is the expansion of a University Extension Syllabus and includes both a brief statement of the facts of Hebrew history and guidance for a more extended study of the subject. The two parts, "United Israel" and "Divided Israel," are divided into several periods, each of which is treated with reference to biblical sources, political history, and one or more general topics, such as the social and religious condition of the period, the work of the prophets, or the character and influence of some leading personality.

At the head of each paragraph, in connection with detailed references to the Old Testament, references are given also to such works as may be considered indispensable to the student of biblical history. In this the author wisely limits himself to a small number of the latest and best books instead of including the many works of value to the discriminating student but which are now of doubtful utility to the class for which this handbook is intended, in view of the additions to the sources of Hebrew history which have been made within a few years. To the many who have only vague ideas of the subject, and hardly know how or where to begin the study, this outline will prove a valuable aid.

C. E. C.

Buddhism in Translations. By HENRY CLARKE WARREN. Being Volume III of the Harvard Oriental Series. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Published by Harvard University. Pp. xx + 520. Price \$1.25.

Buddhism: Its History and Literature. By T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, LL.D., Ph.D. The first series of the American lectures on the History of Religions. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price \$1.50.

America may well congratulate herself that these two works of the first rank have been produced under her auspices. Professor Davids is, indeed, an English scholar, yet it was to the opportunity offered to him by an American body of gentlemen to lecture upon this subject here that his book owed its origin.

Mr. Warren is a pupil of Professor Lanman, of Harvard, and belongs to us in every sense. His book is an admirable piece of scientific work intended for popular reading. He has not been ashamed to put forth a series of translations, recognizing the fact that the work of translation, if done by a first-rate scholar, is a service of the highest character done on behalf of the whole scholarly world. Here, at last, we have something like a body of material to put in the hands of non-technical students for the study of early Buddhism. Many of these selections are translated for the first time. On the whole, the choice of passages is wisely made. The introductions to the various sections are short and scholarly and satisfying. No two scholars would select precisely the same passages for such a book as this, and students of the subject will, therefore, miss some material which they would think important. But, on the whole, we are by no means inclined to quarrel with the translator, but rather to be profoundly grateful that he has undertaken this task. The cheapness of the volume, considering its high character and admirable form, is remarkable. We heartily commend it as a faithful presentation in the original sources of the teachings of primitive Buddhism.

Professor Rhys Davids is an acknowledged master in this field. He writes these six lectures out of a full mind. They discuss the following topics: 1) Religious theories in India before Buddhism. 2) Authorities on which our knowledge of Buddhism is based. 3) Notes on the life of Buddha. 4) and 5) The secret of Buddhism. 6) Some notes on the history of Buddhism. Of all these lectures we are inclined to regard the second as the most useful, since it gathers together in a way not hitherto accessible to most persons the various writings of the Buddhistic canon. Otherwise, most of the material has already appeared in his former admirable series of lectures delivered on the Hibbert foundation. The concluding lecture deals in a very thoroughgoing way with the modern fad known as "Esoteric Buddhism." "It has always been a point of wonder to me," says Davids, "why the author should have chosen this particular title for his treatise, for if there is anything that can be said with absolute certainty about the book, it is that it is not esoteric and not Buddhism." G. S. G.

Jesus von Nazaret: Geschichtliche, objective Darstellung seines Lebens, Wirkens, und Todes. Von DR. J. HAMBURGER, Ober- und Landes-Rabbiner in Strelitz i. M. Zweite Auflage. Gergonne und Cie, Berlin, 1895. 46 pp. octavo. Price 1 mark.

Those familiar with Dr. Hamburger's *Real-Encyclopädie für Bibel und Talmud* will not be surprised by the misprints, inaccuracies, and random statements which are so numerous in this pamphlet. Jesus is said to have been put to death in 35 "after" at the age of 33 years, though he was born in 7 or 8 "before." The educational reforms of Joshua ben Gamla are put in 64 "before" instead of 64 "after." That both Jesus and John the Bap-

tist were disciples of Essenism is said to be clear from their life, clothing, fare and sojourn in the wilderness. In entering Jerusalem as the king foretold by Zechariah, Jesus was guilty of an act of rebellion against the Romans. The crucifixion was the act of Pilate; and the giving up of Jesus into his hands was the work, not of the Sanhedrin, but of Annas and Caiaphas and their followers, who were "notoriously violent, wicked men, and were well known as cowardly friends of the Romans." The execution of Jesus by Pilate is paralleled with that of Theudas by Cuspius Fadus. However unfair this representation may be it shows plainly that the modern Jew is rather ashamed of the murder of Jesus. Another satisfactory sign is the comparative moderation of the tone. The Christian reader is not shocked by revolting blasphemies. On the other hand the narrative is not a faithful biography, even from the purely historical point of view; and the writer's intense hostility to Christ and Christianity is very evident in spite of his claim to have been uninfluenced by religious tendencies.

W. T. S.

Ueber roemisches Recht im Galaterbrief. Eine Untersuchung zur Geschichte des Paulinismus von DR. ANTON HALMEL. 1895, G. D. Bädeker, Essen. Pp. vii, 32, octavo. Price 80 pfennige.

An attempt to prove that the well-known argument in Galatians 3:15, to 4:2 about the relation of the promise to Abraham and the law rests on the principles and terminology of Roman jurisprudence. About a dozen expressions are identified with terms of Latin law. Among them are *διαθήκη*, which is supposed to correspond to testamentum; *ἀθετεῖν*, *ἀκυροῦν*, to rumpere, irritum facere; *ἐπιδιατάσσεσθαι*, to insuper mandare; *μεσίτης*, to mediator, persona interposita; *σπέρματα*, to personæ incertæ; *ἐπίτροποι*, to tutores; *οἰκόνομοι*, to curatores. This supposed knowledge of Roman law, it is argued, Paul can have acquired only in Italy. The epistle must therefore have been written in that country, perhaps in Rome itself. The essay is interesting, but not conclusive. The strictly legal use of the expressions cited in the sense affirmed is far from certain, and were it proved would shed little or no light on the place and time of composition. Roman citizens unquestionably abounded in Asia Minor not very long before the commencement of the Christian Era. It is therefore highly probable that there were still many of them in Paul's time in that part of the world, in which case knowledge of the Roman law of inheritance would be as readily obtainable there as in Italy. Dr. Halmel, indeed, asserts the contrary, but produces no evidence. As the authorities quoted are exclusively German, it would seem that Dr. Halmel is either quite ignorant of or imperfectly acquainted with the great English commentary on this epistle.

W. T. S.

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A. B. DAVIDSON

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

CONTINUING

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THE REV. A. B. DAVIDSON, D.D., LL.D., PROFESSOR OF
HEBREW IN THE NEW COLLEGE, EDINBURGH.

By PROFESSOR ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCE, D.D.,
Free Church College, Glasgow.

I CANNOT offer readers of this sketch such biographic data concerning its subject as I was able to supply in the cases of Doctors Dods and Smith. I have not been negligent but simply unsuccessful in finding what I sought. The oracle was silent. Of this I have no *special* cause to complain, as even ladies have been known to hint with a subdued murmur that their invitations to dinner have sometimes been left unanswered, or answered only after a weary while. So for dates and historic data I give as a substitute a psychologic trait. You have to do with a character this time.

Some things, indeed, cannot be hid. That the renowned professor is an Aberdonian is manifest to everyone who hears his voice. His speech "bewrayeth" him. "The voice edged with raw accent of Aberdeen comes shrill upon you as if forced from lips of rock." And the word corresponds to the temper of the man and of the race he belongs to: keen, flinty, cold, not unkindly at heart, but ashamed to show kindness; reserved, repressive, undemonstrative, a fact explaining much in his career.

It may be taken for granted that young Davidson was educated first in one of those notable Aberdeenshire parish schools that have scholars for their masters, and have sent forth many a pupil to fame and distinction, then at the Academy of Aberdeen, and finally at the University of the same city.

My acquaintance with him began in my own student days, and, speaking from recollection, I should say that he is a man of my own age, born say in 1830 or 1831. He was then a student of *Hebrew*, hard at work on Semitic roots, but thriving wonderfully on that spare diet ; wearing a fresh, rosy-colored face, suggestive of a life spent mainly on golf courses amid bracing seabreezes, rather than in a student's "den," into which the sun rarely shone, and littered with dusty tomes. His proficiency in eastern tongues was well known, and hence he obtained the post of Hebrew tutor in the New College, Edinburgh, under the celebrated "Rabbi" Duncan, the professor of Hebrew in the same college. Who has not heard of *him*? To whom have not been told one or more of the innumerable anecdotes illustrative of his unworldly simplicity and absent-mindedness? Those who want to know something about the genius as well as the eccentricities of this Edinburgh celebrity should enquire for the *Colloquia Peripatetica* of Professor Knight, of St. Andrews, like myself one of his students, and, like all his students, cherishing for the "Rabbi" a tender affection which has helped him to "Boswellize" his memory in a manner worthy of all praise.

In due time Davidson became Duncan's colleague and successor. He published his first work to promote his candidature for the chair. It was *A Commentary Grammatical and Exegetical on the Book of Job, with a translation*, and bears the date of 1862. It was only a fragment of the projected work. It has on its title-page "Vol. I." There never was a second, though in the closing sentence of his preface the author says : "The second volume, which, unless unforeseen circumstances interfere, will speedily follow, will naturally be somewhat larger than the present." The unforeseen happened. Davidson got the chair, and preoccupation with its duties led to indefinite postponement of the project. The contribution he made in 1884 of a volume on Job to

the Cambridge Bible Series compensated in some measure for the loss. But only in some measure, most will agree in thinking. For that first book of Davidson's was in some important respects his best. He let himself out in it more than in any subsequent publication. The book is full of exact scholarship, but there is more in it than that; moral fervor, enthusiasm, welcome to all his admirers, and rather conspicuous by their absence in later productions. Job was a splendid theme for him; for there is poetry, philosophy, and skepticism (in no sinister sense) in him enough to enable him to do full justice to its tragic grandeur.

Davidson has been a phenomenal success as a professor. He has been the hero of the New College for successive bands of students during the last thirty years. Scholarship, literary felicity, teaching power, and personal idiosyncrasy combine to make him at once a great master, and a pet. The students reverently sit at his feet, and laugh at his caustic humor. He has sent forth from his class a number of well-trained scholars large enough to make a school. He taught William Robertson Smith who has taught the English-speaking world the mysteries of criticism. To the honorable company of his disciples belong Harper of Armond College, Melbourne, Skinner of the English Presbyterian College, London, and George Adam Smith of the Free Church College, Glasgow, all three important contributors to the popular interpretation of the Old Testament along critical lines. Other men might be named, but let these suffice.

Of Professor Davidson, as of Rabbi Duncan, numerous anecdotes are repeated in the circle of his old students. The following, obtained from a reliable source, afford a glimpse into the class room. To a student struggling with the Hebrew letters of a passage the professor remarked: "Don't you think it a pity, Mr. —, that the prophets didn't write in English?" A student called on to construe excused himself saying: "Not prepared today, sir!" To which the professor replied: "*Today*, Mr. Tomkins." A student was translating from an interleaved Hebrew and English Bible. The passage was the first three verses of one of the short Psalms (from cxx onwards). Another student having read the Hebrew the culprit gave what he supposed to be

its English equivalent, his eye lighting on the wrong place on the English page. The professor waited patiently till he had finished, then quietly said, "Thank you, Mr. — ; a very good translation of the first three verses of the *next* psalm." The professorial criticisms of Hebrew Discourses, read, as is the custom, in the class, supply a list of characteristic anecdotes. Excessive eulogy is not in our hero's line ; dry humor, sometimes withering contemptuous censure is more to his taste, as may be seen from this solitary sample : "A thoroughly unsatisfactory performance. The conception is vulgar, the execution jejune, and the scholarship starved." Such criticism is apt to leave a permanent wound in the unhappy subject. But all but the one unfortunate might relish it, and reminiscences of the kind enhance the charm of an admired master.

Everyone knows something about Dr. Davidson as an author. Besides the two books on Job, published respectively in 1862 and 1884, he has given to the world the following : the article "Job" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, an introductory Hebrew Grammar which has gone through many editions (ed. I in 1874), a work on the Epistle to the Hebrews in the Bible handbooks published by Messrs. T. and T. Clark (in 1886), and another, more recently published, on Ezekiel. He has also been a somewhat liberal contributor to the well-known monthly, *The Expositor*, in whose pages have appeared series of articles on Hosea (1879), 2 Isaiah (1883-4), Amos (1887), Joel (1888), from his skilful hand, all valuable though not yet collected in book form. Of these publications the best known to me is the book on the Epistle to the Hebrews, which, as belonging to my own line of study, I have had occasion to read carefully. Like all Dr. Davidson's works it is, from the point of view of exact scholarship, masterly. Yet I am constrained to confess that it is to me a most disappointing book. A perfect *verbal* commentary, it somehow misses the spirit of the whole. In his *Founders of Old Testament Criticism* Professor Cheyne characterizes it as "a dry but very able work." I subscribe to this estimate, only I would invert the order of the epithets and say "very able but dry," laying the emphasis on the latter quality. It is dry

because the author does not truly conceive the historical situation with its tragic pathos. He regards the author as the repeater of theological commonplaces to a church quite familiar with his teaching, but needing encouragement under severe outward trial, instead of being the prophetic suggester of fresh conceptions meant for the benefit of a community which has no insight into the genius of the Christian religion. And so the book remains *dead*, and the *soul* of the writer unrevealed, while his *words* are skilfully expounded.

One wonders how such a miscarriage could happen in the hands of so gifted a man, and is tempted to theorize about it. I have sometimes thought that Dr. Davidson had too much deference for Dr. Bernhard Weiss, who, while an expert in criticism, is rather prosaic and unsympathetic in exegesis. But I do not suppose that counts for much. More stress is to be laid on his severely historic method of interpretation which makes him over-jealous of anything like reading into Bible texts modern ideas. Thus his Old Testament studies have produced a tendency to minimize the new element in the New Testament. The new era of grace, for such a tendency, has very little novelty. It is Judaism + an infinitesimal increment. For me there is a wide gulf between the Hebrew church and the writer of this epistle. They are Judaists but he is not; rather he is one who sees the glory of Christianity as the religion of perfect unrestricted fellowship between man and God, and therefore perennial, as opposed to Levitical religion which kept men remote from God in fear; the religion of spiritual reality as opposed to Leviticalism, the religion of shadows and of cosmic furniture doomed to pass away.

Dr. Davidson has rather disappointed his admirers even in the region of criticism. He has not kept his place in the van of the movement which he created. He has rather lagged behind or stood on one side, while the company of the prophets marched past, wondering what had possessed them. He kept all but silent while the Robertson Smith controversy raged. As fresh contributions to criticism make their appearance he contents himself with poking fun at the weaknesses of the contribu-

tors. The following is a specimen of the style in which he handles the Germans occasionally in the pages of *The Critical Review*: "The criticism of the Pentateuch is a great historical drama which needs to be put upon the stage with appropriate scenery and circumstance. When performed by a company of prophets called J. E. D. P. with all their little ones down to J³ and P^x it loses its impressiveness. It will not be strange if some spectators mistake the nature of the performance and go home with the impression that they have been witnessing a farce." In an article in the *Expository Times* for January of this year he speaks about "PAOS" being as inaccessible "as the uncreated exemplar of the Koran which is in heaven," and of Wellhausen he caustically observes: "Wellhausen has assured us that Jehovah has unaccountable moods, and no doubt his servant in Göttingen is subject to the same infirmity." This is excellent fooling, and one does not grudge an occasional outburst of this kind to a man with a deep vein of humor in him. And it must be acknowledged that the Germans with their "vigor and rigor" lay themselves very open to the sport of the wit. Yet we look for more than banter from the acknowledged head of the critical school in Scotland. It is not for him to select the rôle of jester while the critical drama goes on. Such is the feeling of many in Britain. Dr. Cheyne has given expression to it in his work on the *Founders of Old Testament Criticism* already referred to. "One only asks," he says in one place, "why this able scholar has not sought more opportunities of helping forward critical study. He is himself the loser by his excessive caution. For how can that introduction to biblical theology which we are eagerly expecting from him be produced without the aid of a wisely bold higher criticism?" But we must be considerate in our complaints. Temperament has much to do with this reticence. Dr. Davidson is a shy, retiring, modest man who has no idea of his own importance in the world in which he lives. "Why," he thinks to himself, "cannot I be allowed to withdraw into a quiet corner and look on while men play their parts?" The late Professor Bensley of Cambridge spoke to me in terms of high commendation of the Scotch members of the Old Tes-

tament Revision Company, and especially of Dr. Davidson. He added, "His only fault is that he is too quiet." That is the man all over in all relations, all through his life. He invariably takes a back seat. His behavior presents a refreshing contrast to that of others whom we all know whose one aim and effort it is to push their way to the front and make great men of their little selves.

Dr. Davidson can *preach* as well as teach beautifully though not with great popular effect, wisely and gracefully if not eloquently. One who knows him well, writing about him in the *British Weekly*, remarks: "He is, if ever man was, a preacher *malgré lui*. Providence and himself conspired against it, and both have failed." Another writer in a magazine, expressing personal admiration for the professor's preaching gifts, reports this comment on a sermon of his, overheard by a gentleman as he walked along the street talking to a friend: "Davidson gets worse and worse." You see how it is: the praise of the wise and the censure of fools is the reward of this preacher, as of many another of whom the world is not worthy. If you want to hear Davidson, you need not go to one of the large West End churches where fashionable audiences assemble. You are more likely to find him in a mean building, in a meaner street, preaching to a small congregation of common folks. The back seat once more. He does not think he is a great preacher. He probably doubts if he can preach at all; if the exquisite studies on Scripture he offers his hearers deserve the name of sermons.

This invincible modesty is felt also in society. In whatever company our professor appears he is ever a silent man listening while others talk who have not half so much to say. When I was minister in a church in Broughty Ferry, near Dundee, I got together a dinner party of clergymen, etc., who happened to be taking their holiday in the neighborhood. We were a lively company and the talk was brisk and interesting. After it had lasted a while and at a lull in the conversation, a well-known minister from London, himself quite a character, put his big, open hand on Davidson's small, finely shaped head, and said "I wonder

what's in that pow of yours." There was doubtless a good deal in the "pow," but its owner had kept it all to himself.

With all drawbacks Dr. Davidson is a man to be devoutly thankful for. He is not a great actor, not even a great character; only a scholar, a clear thinker who can put his thoughts before you in clean-cut, crisp sentences with a diamond sparkle in them. Scotland must look elsewhere for its Luther. But in Davidson it has at least an *Erasmus*.

THE RELATION OF THE SEMINARY TO PREVIOUS BIBLE STUDY.

By PROFESSOR OWEN H. GATES, PH.D.,
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Unequal knowledge of the Bible on the part of students entering theological seminaries.—No account taken of this inequality by the seminaries.—Evil results of this.—Remedy proposed.—Indirect benefits of this remedy to the colleges.—Practicability of the plan.

CANDIDATES for admission to our theological seminaries differ widely in their knowledge of the Bible. The difference in this respect is as wide as in the matter of the standard preparatory studies. Three types may be distinguished. Some students possess a good elementary knowledge of the Scriptures. They can turn readily to any book, and they know what they will find there. They can locate and quote the classical passages of the Old and New Testaments. They know something of the course of the history of Israel and of the life of Christ, and are reasonably familiar with the Pentateuch, the Psalms, and the Acts.

Others, perhaps recently converted, appear to find Bible study a novelty. They are interested and appreciative, and it is a pleasure to teach them; but the charm is much such as surrounds children confronted with new and strange objects. One is curious to know how the new thought will strike them.

By far the largest number of students, however, are found in a third class. These are not surprised at what they hear; they have heard most of it before. They are vaguely conscious that they have been present somewhere at some time when this passage or that person was the subject of remark. And yet when a test question is put to them their answer is unsatisfactory. They have never made what they have been told from the pulpit or in the class room their own by a voluntary mental act of appropriation.

What account do the seminaries take of this diversity in acquaintance with the Bible? And, first, in the matter of entrance requirements? So far as we know, the seminaries do not examine candidates on the Bible in any feature of it. No seminary makes any requirement at the outset. Entrance requirements may include a diploma from the classical course in college, and the Greek and Latin attainments are jealously insisted upon, but no one thinks to inquire whether the college diploma denotes in addition that the holder has studied the Bible in college. When separate certificates of work done in particular branches are offered in lieu of a diploma, proof of study of the Bible is not asked or given. Students of state institutions which do not—cannot, we are told—give instruction in the Bible, are on a par with students of denominational colleges where the Bible is a regular part of the curriculum.

Secondly, what of the seminary course itself? Is it adjusted so as to take into account the diversity of attainment in Bible subjects? Here, again, the answer must be negative. No notice is taken of proficiency or deficiency in what may be called the elements of Bible study. The seminaries are doing their utmost to induce candidates to study Hebrew beforehand. Prizes are offered and special classes established, and the elementary work in the seminary is made difficult in order to persuade men into doing this linguistic work in college, where it ought to be done; but all are put through the same mill in the study of the Bible proper. Electives are numerous and attractive, but they concern the advanced work, and not that which is elementary. The mill may grind too coarse or too fine; the particular complaint just now made is, however, that the adjustment is one and the same for all. If his preparation in other branches is inadequate, a man may be admitted but denied candidacy for a degree, may be marked "special" or may be put into an English course; in some way the dignity of the theological course must be maintained, but the question whether he has such a start that in three years he will be a good Bible student, or so much of a start that his three years will not be all advance work, is not considered. What Bible instructor but has had in his classes now and then a man

who at the beginning of a given course is more familiar with its subject than others at its close? Such men are not numerous, but they are known, and there is an obvious impropriety in requiring of them an exercise the chief profit from which comes in the way of a review or a quickening of the memory.

This condition of things is not ideal. There is a loss to all concerned; a loss to the proficient student because the pace is too slow, and to the deficient student because it is too fast; a loss to the instructor such as always obtains when his class is heterogeneous, a loss to the seminary because the graduates are less fully equipped than they should be and easily might be. In permitting the situation to continue, the seminaries are not awake to the power which they possess of modifying it for the better.

It perhaps needs no debate to prove that, other things being equal (with strong emphasis for the present upon the limiting phrase), it would be desirable to modify the present entrance requirements so as to make sure of some preliminary Bible study. The gain from so doing would be in securing greater uniformity in the classes, and that by grading up rather than down. The pace of the class would not be retarded by the few (or the many) who are a burden to it because of their ignorance at the outset. But while this burden is a real one, it is also true that the proficient ones are a hindrance to the very ones who hinder the class. There is too much general knowledge of the Bible assumed, and their progress would be greater if the class went more slowly. The drive wheels may slip in starting if the throttle valve is pulled too wide open. We are, of course, not sanguine that a fair start will insure a close race, but a fair start is none the less desirable.

There would, moreover, be an opportunity to substitute other work in the biblical department, perhaps more advanced, perhaps merely different, if some of the elementary work were done earlier. The field of theological study is constantly widening and something must be done to relieve the pressure. That there is a real difficulty even from the student's point of view is shown from the increasing number who take a fourth year of study. While the process of reconstructing the curriculum is going on

which is to result in casting off some of the mediæval features of which we have recently been told, some of the elementary work may easily be handed down to the lower schools.

It is entirely probable that even were the principle of entrance requirements in the Bible approved, the first actual advance towards putting it in practice would be to excuse men who come prepared to pass certain examinations from otherwise prescribed work, allowing them to substitute advanced courses for the elementary one. We have but to refer again to the plan in operation as to Advanced Hebrew, to get a good illustration of what might be expected to result. As the object in the case of Hebrew is ultimately to throw the study of the language into the college, and thereby get more time in the seminary for the study of the Old Testament in Hebrew, so the hope would be cherished that a similar result would follow the plan proposed.

Even as thus modified the feasibility of the suggestion must be demonstrated. One of the most forcible objections is based on the scarcity of candidates to take such an examination or present such a certificate. Is there any call for anything of the kind? Men are studying the Bible in Christian colleges, in Sunday schools, and are listening to its exposition from the pulpit, but all this yields no results which can be recorded with pen. Certainly seminaries cannot take account of such hazy ideas.

So far from overlooking this fact, we should be inclined to emphasize it still more. The method of treating the Bible—it cannot be called Bible study—under which our young Christians are growing up is often a real hindrance to good work in the seminary. The notion that precision of study, accuracy and adequacy of statement have a place in biblical matters seems never to have occurred to many, even after years of use of the Bible. Questions which if asked concerning a passage in Horace or Shakespeare would be answered briefly and sensibly if at all, are likely to elicit a rambling, pointless, lifeless allusion scarcely germane to the subject in hand. Bible instructors must take such conditions into account and correct them at once in order to fit the student for the training in store for him. It is just this salutary and essential process that wins for many a

teacher the reputation of being a destructive critic, of being not quite in accord with the beliefs of the churches. The situation has a comic, as well as a tragic, side, and it is difficult to speak with dignity and yet with truthfulness of the methods that create it. Those methods, seen at their best—or worst—in the Sabbath school, are, we gladly admit, of great value in other directions, but at the same time they are the poorest possible preparation for a technical study of the Bible in a theological school.

If we turn to the college and inquire if the average Bible study here is entitled to any consideration in the seminary, the answer must still be a reluctant negative. A teacher of the Bible in a college recently remarked in effect to the writer, "Of course one cannot refuse to pass the boys in their Bible; that would make the study obnoxious to them." The remark is evidence of the practice of one instructor and presumably of others; at any rate it is safe to say that the principle involved influences many to some extent. Putting little work into the course, the student gets little profit out of it, and it is valueless in the professional study of the Bible.

Such is the condition of the really enormous amount of Bible study engaged in by our Christian youth. In what direction shall we look for the inauguration of means to correct its mistakes? We should naturally expect the theological seminaries to take the initiative; they are necessarily in a position to recognize most truly the existing faults, and, as we have seen, a very desirable advance in their own work is dependent upon an advance in the work done beforehand.

The task imposed is not so hopeless as it might seem. There is nothing in human nature or in the Bible that renders it impossible or extremely difficult to induce boys and girls to study the Scriptures. It is not the fault of the scholar if "Sunday-school talk" has an objectionable sound. In the Sabbath school, as in the week-day school, interest can be aroused and maintained, and that even upon topics not in themselves picturesque or dramatic, provided the method of instruction is what it should be. We are of the opinion that with the proper

encouragement, college men and women would undertake Bible study with as much enthusiasm as they do literature, and as much energy as they devote to their mathematics.

Further, the initiative is already taken. In making the suggested modifications in their course of study, the seminaries would be simply responding to a movement, already well begun, for improving the quality of Bible instruction. Readers of the BIBLICAL WORLD are not ignorant of the existence of the Institute of Sacred Literature. And yet the possibilities that stretch out before it, and indeed before any organization with such an aim, cannot be overestimated. Advertisements are out of place here, but when once the subject of better Bible study is broached, the Institute and its work must be favorably mentioned. The seminaries would be but accepting aid from their natural ally, and would be but bestowing encouragement upon an enterprise which naturally looks to them for encouragement, if in Bible study, as well as in Hebrew, they should accept the Institute certificates for certain standard courses which could easily be determined upon beforehand. It would indeed be unwise to permit these certificates to secure a shortening of the three-year seminary course. Gain of acquirement and not gain of time is the *desideratum*. The Institute owes its origin and its maintenance to the same teachers as are found in our seminaries, so we are simply advocating the official recognition of a system of instruction which already has abundant sanction of our educators. The machinery is all in place, and the readjustment necessary would be found to be very slight. Constituted as it is, it is a truism to say that the Institute is certain to conform to the wishes of the Bible teachers of the country.

The colleges are not so directly under the control of the seminaries, and yet even here it will doubtless be found that the Institute methods have already secured a foothold. The whole subject of Bible study in our Christian colleges is one that needs and deserves a thorough examination for its own sake. Meanwhile we venture to think that if the seminaries were to indicate with any considerable unanimity the courses and methods of study which they regard as especially fitting students for pro-

fessional study, the many Christian institutions would not be reluctant to provide such courses. They must not be too technical, not theological, and must not necessarily require a theological professor to teach them; on the other hand, they must be thorough and must be taught by one who is trained for the work. College Bible work, if the seminaries are to look with favor upon it, must be brought up to the standard of college Greek and trigonometry and philosophy.

The difficulties in the way of the successful accomplishment of the plan are far fewer than those besetting the relegation of Hebrew to the colleges, while the benefit accruing to theological students would be not less, and to others much greater than in the case of Hebrew. It will scarcely be seriously objected that in undertaking such an influence the seminaries are transgressing their traditional limits, according to which they are established to train men for the ministry. That prescribed duty would be the better performed, and the proposed plan, involving as it does an active interest on the part of Old and New Testament instructors in the teaching not only of the comparatively few candidates for the ministry, but of the great numbers of the educated youth of the country, is in the direction of a wider usefulness and broader service for the church, a service the results of which would be promptly and decidedly visible.

THE APOCRYPHA.

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The contents of the Apocrypha.—Source in the Vulgate.—Protestant view.—The title.—Roman Catholic view.—Place in the Septuagint;—in the Eastern church;—in Hellenistic Judaism;—in Palestinian Judaism.—Date of origin.—Relation to Jewish parties.—The Revised Version.

THIS article is meant especially for those who may be moved to a reading of the Apocrypha by the appearance of the revised version. It aims in a summary way to trace this distinctively Protestant volume back to its origin, and to find, still farther back, the historical place and significance of the books which make it up.

1. *Contents.*—The title, Apocrypha, is applied by English-speaking Protestants to the following books: I, II Esdras, Tobit, Judith, Additions to Esther, Wisdom of Solomon, Wisdom of Jesus, Son of Sirach (Ecclesiasticus), Baruch, Additions to Daniel (*i. e.*, Song of the Three, Susanna, and Bel), Prayer of Manasses, I, II Maccabees. Luther's Apocrypha, still printed in the Revised Version of the German Bible, follows a different order, and does not include I, II Esdras. Coverdale, who determined English practice, followed the Zürich Bible, not Luther's, as did also the French.

2. *Source of the collection.*—The Apocrypha is made up of the excess of the Latin Vulgate over the Hebrew Old Testament, and was cut off and given a place and name of its own by Protestantism, in its adherence to the Hebrew canon. But the Prayer of Manasses and I, II Esdras are not in the Vulgate canon, but were printed in the official Vulgate as an appendix after the New Testament. Hence Luther's Apocrypha represents more nearly than ours the difference between the Catholic and the Protestant Bibles. In the Vulgate these books are scattered

among those of the Hebrew canon without distinction: Tobit and Judith after Neh.; Wisdom and Ecclus. after Song of Songs; I, II Macc. after the minor prophets, and the Additions in connection with Esther, Jeremiah (Baruch), and Daniel.

3. *Protestant view of the Apocrypha.*—Protestantism did not exclude the apocryphal books from its Bible, but gave them a separate place and title. Luther put them between the Old and New Testaments with the title: "Apocrypha, that is, books which are not held equal to the Sacred Scriptures, and nevertheless are useful and good to read." In the Reformed (Zürich) Bible they followed the New Testament with the title: "These are the books which by the ancients were not written nor numbered among the biblical books, and also are not found among the Hebrews." The French Bible of Calvin put them between the Testaments as "the volume of the apocryphal books contained in the Vulgate translation which we have not found in Hebrew or Chaldee." Coverdale's title reads: "Apocripha. The bokes and treatises which amonge the fathers of olde are not rekened to be of like authority with the other bokes of the byble, nether are they fonde in the Canon of the Hebrue." They kept their place in succeeding English versions, including the Authorized, though Coverdale's prefatory words were changed and finally fell away. Although in some early editions the Apocrypha is omitted (1629, etc.), it was not until 1827 that the British and Foreign Bible Society decided, after a warm dispute, to exclude these books from its publications. Their exclusion marked the final success of long and persistent protests from the side of Puritanism; but it did not drive the Apocrypha from the lecturn of the Episcopal church. In general the Apocrypha has been regarded more highly on the continent than in England, and in England than in America; more highly by the Lutheran than by the Reformed churches, and by the Episcopal than by the Independent; in general, more highly by those who view the Bible chiefly as the book of divine service than by those who regard it chiefly as the authority for doctrine.

4. *The title.*—The use of the word Apocrypha as a title

of this collection does not antedate Protestantism. Jerome did indeed regard these books as belonging properly in the large existing class of apocryphal books. They "are to be reckoned among *apocrypha*." But the word was used quite consistently and appropriately, before the Reformation, of the literature, chiefly apocalyptic, which we now call pseudepigrapha. The word "hidden" could fitly be applied to the secret books of sects, or to books containing secrets of the unseen world or of the future. It came, however, to be used with the meaning, "uncanonical," and in this sense was applied by Luther to books for which he had, in part, a high regard. The derived meaning of the word, *spurious* or *false*, may have had the effect of lowering the esteem in which these books were held. At all events the title has little fitness, whether judged by its history or by the character of the books to which it is now applied. Pre-Reformation titles were "*anaginoskomena*"—*i. e.*, books to be read by those about to enter the church (Athanasius); "*antilegomena*"—*i. e.*, books whose canonicity was in dispute (Nicephorus, etc.); "ecclesiastical"—*i. e.*, books read in the churches but not fully authoritative (Rufinus, etc.); and "deutero-canonical."

5. *Roman Catholic view*.—Not until the Council of Trent, in 1545, in opposition to Protestantism, did the Roman Catholic church declare the Vulgate to be of equal authority in all its parts. This decision was no doubt in accordance with the common usage of the church, but it was against the opinion of many of its best scholars. The statement of the sixth article of the English church—"the other books (as Jerome saith) the church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine"—has many parallels in Catholic writings before the Reformation.

6. *The Apocrypha in the Septuagint*.—The presence of these books in the Vulgate is due to the Greek (LXX) from which the Old Latin version was made. When Jerome revised the Old Latin after the Hebrew he wished to omit the books which the Hebrew did not contain. But the force of usage

controlled the opinion of the church. At its command Jerome introduced some of the additional books, and the rest soon assumed in the new version the place they had in the old. In this process, however, important differences arose between the Latin and the Greek. By following the Hebrew text for all the books of the Hebrew canon, Jerome set aside the many minor variations of the LXX from the Hebrew. He also took the Additions to Esther out of their original connection and put them together at the end of the book (10⁴-16)²⁴. The Old Latin itself had omitted III, IV Macc., which most LXX manuscripts include, and added II Esdr., not found in Greek. The latter book, however, and I Esdr. did not, as we have seen, make their way into the Vulgate proper.

The Apocrypha, then, is due to the difference between the Greek and the Hebrew Old Testaments, but does not represent that difference exactly, nor in detail.

7. *The Apocrypha in the Eastern church.*—The LXX was the Old Testament of Greek-speaking Christians from the beginning. It is not certain that it contained the apocryphal books in New Testament times, though there is evidence of familiarity with some of these books on the part of New Testament writers; but by the earliest fathers they are not only used, but directly cited as Scripture. There was, however, a sharper contrast between common practice and scholarly theory in the East than in the West. In theory the Hebrew canon was recognized by many, but by various devices the effort was made to square this with Christian usage. In certain theoretical lists¹ the apocryphal books are given very much the same intermediate position between the canonical and the uncanonical that they occupy in the original Protestant Bibles. But usage prevailed over theory, and the apocryphal books retained on the whole the place they had in the manuscripts of the Bible. The present view of the Eastern church appears to be intermediate between the Roman and the Protestant. The Apocryphal books are printed among the others in the official Old Testament of the

¹ E. g., those of Athanasius, the chronography of Nicephorus, the *List of Sixty Books*.

Greek church, but are declared to be of subordinate value in its official catechism.

8. *The Apocryphal books in Hellenistic Judaism.*—The LXX became the Bible of Christianity because it was already the Bible of the Jewish synagogue of the Greek Dispersion. The difference between Protestants and Catholics goes back to a difference between Palestinian and Alexandrian Jews. The reception of additional books into the collection of sacred Scriptures seems to have been due in part to the fact that the Pentateuch was regarded by Hellenistic Jews as the canon, by preëminence, so that in comparison with it all other religious writings were in one class; and in part to a freer conception of inspiration than was current in Palestine, the conception that it was not confined to the prophetic age, ending with Malachi, but was still the source of the philosopher's insight and the writer's zest. A formal canonization of the Apocrypha by Hellenists is not to be thought of.

9. *The Apocrypha in Palestinian Judaism.*—But though the apocryphal books were connected with sacred books, and so were preserved, only by Alexandrian Jews, they were for the most part written by Palestinians and were, like the rest of the LXX, translations of Hebrew originals. The Book of Wisdom, and IV Macc. are the only books of the LXX which have a strongly marked Hellenistic character, and it is not probable that many others were Greek originals. Considered as historical sources, then, our Apocrypha, with the exception of Wisdom, belong to Palestinian Judaism.

10. *The time of their origin.*—It is very inaccurate, however, to say that these books are the only, or even the chief, sources for the four centuries of Jewish history between Malachi and Christ. For these centuries many other sources came into view; on the one side, books and parts of books in the Old Testament itself, especially in the Hagiographa; and, on the other side, the Apocalypses, from Enoch on, the histories of Josephus, the works of Hellenistic Jews, culminating in Philo, and such traditions of the earlier scribes as are contained in the voluminous writings of the later rabbis, the Midrashim and Talmud. Nevertheless the

Apocrypha have, as a whole, an historical place of their own. They follow most directly after the books of the Hagiographa, and are related to them in character, consisting of histories, stories, and books of wisdom. They precede as a whole the apocryphical literature, as that precedes the rabbinical. They are the most direct continuation of the Old Testament, but not the most direct introduction to the New. They belong chiefly in the century following 190-170 B. C., the date of Ecclesiasticus.

11. *Their relation to Jewish parties.*—The chief events of this century were those recorded in I Macc.; yet these books give no record of the sharp antagonism between the Pharisaic and the Sadducean parties which originated in the Maccabean struggle, and they probably preceded that antagonism. Ecclesiasticus lies before these events, but it is in spirit more nearly related to the Sadducee than to the Pharisee. I Macc. is more definitely Sadducean in tendency. Tobit, Judith, II Macc., Baruch are Pharisaic in the same general sense. These and I Esdras, with the Additions to Esther and Daniel, are to be read as early products of the Jewish Haggada, of which the Talmud and Midrash contain the fuller, if in part coarser, growth. For the fully developed picture of Pharisaic doctrines, and for the conflict of the two great parties, we must turn to such books as the Psalms of Solomon, the Book of Enoch and the Book of Jubilees.

Ecclesiasticus must be studied in connection with the Wisdom literature of the Old Testament; the Book of Wisdom, the most important early product of Hellenistic philosophy, must be put in its native soil to be historically understood.

II Esdras, we have already seen, does not properly belong in this collection. Though written in Greek it survived only in various Christian versions, of which the Latin is the most important. It is one of the most fully developed products of the apocryphical literature, of which Daniel was the type, and Enoch the most noteworthy pre-Christian product. It is in connection with this class of books, or rather with the ideas which are chiefly embodied in it, that Christianity made its start in the

Jewish world, and there is perhaps not another Jewish book which has more interesting and important points of contact with the New Testament than this one. The writer is a Jew of about 100 A. D., upon whom pressed the problems that perplexed Paul until he found their solution in Christ, and his earnest struggle after a solution throws not a little light upon Paul's. The English reader must be warned that the first two and the last two chapters of the book as it stands in our Apocrypha are of Christian origin. The striking points of likeness between these chapters and the New Testament are therefore not parallels but citations.

It is evident from this survey that the effort sometimes made to construct a theology of the Apocrypha is unhistorical, since the collection is not a unity, but contains products of different tendencies. The importance of the Apocrypha to the historical student is not thereby lessened, but increased. To be sure we cannot bridge the gap between the Old Testament and the New by these books alone, yet they are of indispensable use in the effort to make that transition. Moreover, because of their place in the Bible of Christendom, and because of their intrinsic interest and worth they are deserving of far more attention than they have received from this generation.

12. *The revised version of the Apocrypha.*—It is to be hoped that the Revision of the Apocrypha will bring it back, not to its old place, but to the place it deserves in popular use and regard. The Revision is not, indeed, all that the historical student could wish and might fairly expect it to be. Although on the title-page we read "revised A. D. 1894," the preface states that the revision of Ecclesiasticus was finished in 1883, that of I Macc. in 1881, that of Judith and Tobit in 1882, that of II Macc. and Wisdom in 1892, that of the other books after April 1885. The work upon four important books, then, was completed more than ten years ago. Since that time an elaborate commentary on the Apocrypha has appeared, the Speaker's, edited by Dr. H. Wace, 1888, and much important work has been done upon the text of which the Revision could make no use. Especially in the case of Ecclesiasticus a great number of errors

in the Greek have been removed by the use of the Syriac text for the recovery of the original Hebrew. The revision of this book must be regarded as an almost useless performance. On the other hand, the version of Wisdom and II Maccabees, done by Drs. Hort, Moulton, and Westcott, and not finished until 1892, is most admirable. This committee had the great advantage of dealing with Greek originals. The revision of II Esdras was from the final critical text of Bensly, just published. In the case of other books the lack of a critical Greek text, and the fact that the Greek at best is a translation of lost originals, offer difficulties to the translator which the revisers hardly attempted to overcome. The want of consultation and agreement in plan between the four committees among whom the work was divided must also be regarded as unfortunate. Nevertheless the new version is a very great advance upon the old. In connection with it, however, one who wishes the more recent results of scholarship will use the notes in Ball's *Variorum Apocrypha*.¹

¹ The Authorized Version, "edited with various renderings and readings from the best authorities." Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1892.

OUTLINE TOPICS IN THE HISTORY OF OLD TESTAMENT PROPHECY.

VIII.

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PROPHECY OF JEREMIAH AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES,

I. LITERARY SOURCES.

I. Contemporaneous Hebrew Sources.

- 1) 640 B. C. Zeph. I.¹
- 2) 627 Zeph. 2-3.
- 3) 628-621 Jer. 1-6.²
- 4) 628-621 The Primitive Deuteronomy. (?)³
- 5) 620 Jer. 11:1-8, 9-23; 12:1-6.
- 6) 608 Jer. 7-10; 26.
- 7) 608-604 Jer. 14; 15; 18; 19:1-20:18.
- 8) 604 Jer. 25; 35(?)

¹ For Zephaniah *cf.*: Strauss, *Vaticinia Zephaniae*; Reinke, *Der Prophet Zephania*; Pusey, *The Minor Prophets*, II., 225-92; Keil, *The Twelve Minor Prophets*, II., 117-65; Schwally, *Das Buch Ssefanja, eine historisch-kritische Untersuchung*, ZAW, X., 165-240; Budde, *Die Bücher Hab. und Zeph.*; StKr, 1893, 383 ff.; Farrar, *Minor Prophets*, 153-8; Orelli, *The Twelve Minor Prophets*, 260-80; Kleinert, *Zephaniah (Lange)*.

² For Jeremiah *cf.*: Blayney, *Jeremiah and Lamentations*²; König, *Alttestamentliche Studien*; Henderson, *The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah with that of Lamentations*; Nägelsbach, *Der Prophet Jeremiah und Babylon*; Neumann, *Jeremias von Anathoth, die Weissagungen und Klagelieder des Propheten*, 2 vols.; Graf, *Der Prophet Jeremia erklärt*; Hitzig, *Der Prophet Jeremia erklärt*²; Keil, *The Prophecies of Jeremiah*, I. and II.; Smith, *Exp.*, 1878, VII., 241-8, 358-68, 453-65, VIII., 59-69, 230-40, 304-15; *Encyc. Brit.*, XIII., 637 ff.; Streane, *Jeremiah and Lamentations*; Cheyne, *Jeremiah, His Life and Times (Men of the Bible)*; Kuenen, *Onderzoek*², II., 157-265; Orelli, *The Prophecies of Jeremiah*; Workman, *The Text of Jeremiah*; Ball, *The Prophecies of Jeremiah (Exp. Bible)*; Bennett, *The Book of Jeremiah, Chaps. XXI-LII (Exp. Bible)*; Driver, *Introduction*², 232-59; Bulmerincq, *Das Zukunftsbild des Propheten Jeremia aus Anathoth*; Cheyne, *Jeremiah (Pulpit)*.

³ *Cf.* refs. in Syl. III., p. 6, n. 2.

- 9) 604 Hab. 1-3.¹
- 10) 604 Jer. 46-49.
- 11) 603 Jer. 36.
- 12) 597 Jer. 13: 1-21.
- 13) 594-593 Jer. 50; 51; 27-29.
- 14) 588 Jer. 21-24; 34: 8-22.
- 15) 587 Jer. 37; 38; 30-33; 39; 52.

2. Later Hebrew Sources.

- 1) Kings.
- 2) Chronicles.

2. LIVING, DESCRIPTIVE, PREDICTIVE PROPHECY.^{2 3}

- [1) 686-639 B. C. The period of Manasseh and Amon.]
- 2) 640 B. C. *The impending judgment of Jehovah.* Zeph. 1: 1-18.
- [3) 639-608 B. C. The reign of Josiah.]
- [4) 630 B. C. The Scythian invasion.]
- 5) 627 B. C. An exhortation to Judah to repent *before it is too late.* Zeph. 2: 1-3: 7.
- 6) 627 B. C. **A promise to the faithful of future honor and prosperity.** Zeph. 3: 8-20.
- 7) 626 B. C. The call of Jeremiah; Circumstances; Announcement, hesitation, assurance; *first vision (eloquence, commission); second vision (almond tree); third vision (boiling pot); words of cheer.* Jer. 1.

¹ For Habakkuk cf.: Delitzsch, *Der Prophet Habakuk*; Delitzsch, *De Hab. Prophetæ vita atque ætate*²; Gumpach, *Der Prophet Habakuk—übersetzt*; Carrière, *Étude hist. et crit. sur l'époque de la Prophétie d'Habakuk*; Schneider, *De Carmine Chabaccuci Commentatio*; Stade, *ZAW*, IV., 154-9; Baumgartner, *Le Prophète Habakuk*; Elmslie, *Exp.*, IV., III., 1891, 427-42; Driver, *Introduction*², 316 ff.; Budde, *StKr*, 1893, 383 ff.; Orelli, *The Twelve Minor Prophets*, 240-59; Kleinert, *Habakuk (Lange)*; Budde, *Exp.*, May, 1895, 372-85.

² In order to show the close connection of the living prophecy with the descriptive and predictive elements, and to distinguish between the predictions which relate to the immediate future and those which relate to the more remote future, the entire material is given in one list: living prophecy in brackets, descriptive sections in Roman type, predictions of the immediate future in *italic*, and predictions of the remote future in **black-faced type**.

³ For prophecy in the period of Jeremiah, cf.: Duhm, *Die Theologie der Propheten*, 228-51; Ewald, *History of Israel*², IV., 277-87; Duncker, *History of Antiquity*, III., 208-27; Orelli, *O. T. Prophecy*, 329-45; Briggs, *Mess. Prophecy*, 220-65; Stanley,

- 8) 626 B. C. Scythian sermons; Israel faithless, deserving of punishment; unblushingly idolatrous; has only herself to blame; all privileges forfeited. Jer. 2:1-4:5.
- 9) 626 B. C. Israel's confession and acceptance. Jer. 3:21-4:5.
- 10) 626 B. C. Other Scythian sermons, describing (1) The wickedness of the times; (2) *The punishment to be inflicted*. Jer. 4:5-6:30.
- [11) 621 B. C. Josiah's reformation and the finding of the Book of the Law. 2 Kings, 22:8-10; 23:1-3, 21.]
- 12) The essential contents of the book, and its general contribution. Deut., 6:4-5; 12:2-6; 16:21-22; 18:9-15; 28:15-21.
- 13) 620 B. C. Jeremiah's preaching in the interests of this book. Jer. 11:1-8.
- 14) 620 B. C. The trouble involved—Anathoth. Jer. 11:9-23; 12:1-6.
- [15) Josiah's reformation as related to the book of Deuteronomy.]
- [16) 620-608 B. C. The last thirteen years of Josiah; the battle of Megiddo; Josiah's death; the reaction.]
- [17) The reigns of Jehoahaz (608 B. C.), and Jehoiakim (607-597 B. C.).]
- 18) 608 B. C. Repeated rebuke of idolatry and *announcement of judgment*. Jer. 7-10.
- 19) 608 B. C. The trial and acquittal of Jeremiah; summary of chapters 7-10 (26:1-6); impeachment and defense (26:7-15); Micah's case, the result, Urijah (26:16-24).
- 20) 608-604 B. C. The drought; the prophet's intercession; the answer "No"; grief and continued intercession; refusal; *the awful doom*; the prophet's distress; Jehovah's consolation. Jer. 14-15.

Hist. of the Jewish Church, II., 567-622; Kirkpatrick, *The Doctrine of the Prophets*, 286-320; Renan, *Hist. of the People of Israel*, III., 120-332; Cornill, *The Prophets of Israel*, 80-107.

- 21) 608-604 B. C. God like the potter; let Israel repent; the hopelessness of the situation; *the approaching calamity*; murder attempted; the prophet's impassioned imprecations. Jer. 18.
- 22) 608-604 B. C. The bottle; *calamity predicted*; breaking of the bottle; *calamity predicted*; *the vengeance of Pashur*; *the prophet's reply*; his passionate outburst; his cry for help. Jer. 19:1-20; 18.
- 23) 604 B. C. The wine-cup of fury; Israel's long disobedience; *coming of Nebuchadrezzar*; *the seventy years of captivity*; *the wine-cup to be drunk by all nations*; *the terrible judgment upon all nations*. Jer. 25.
- 24) 604 B. C. The Rechabites; *application to the case of Judah*. Jer. 35.
- 25) 604 B. C. The prophecy of Habakkuk, a dialogue and a prayer.
 - (a) *Prophet*: O, Lord! the wickedness of our times. Hab. 1:2-4.
 - (b) *God*: *I will bring the Chaldean to punish Judah*. 1:5-11.
 - (c) *Prophet*: O, Lord! think of the desolation wrought by these arrogant Chaldeans. 1:12-17.
 - (d) *God*: [No answer].
 - (e) *Prophet*: O, Lord! I wait for an answer. 2:1.
 - (f) *God*: *Destruction shall come upon Chaldea*—a five-fold woe. 2:2-20.
 - (g) *Prayer*: "A choral echo, anthem of praise to the God who comes to judge and save"—terror and thanksgiving.
- 26) 604 B. C. *Jeremiah's sermons against foreign nations: Egypt, Philistia, Moab, Ammon; Edom; Damascus; Kedar and Hazor; Elam*, Jer. 46-49.
- [27) 603 B. C. The army of Nebuchadrezzar is approaching.]
- 28) 603 B. C. The burning of the roll: its preparation; read before the people and princes; before the king; destroyed; rewritten, Jer. 36.

- 29) Surrender of the city; Jehoiakim becomes a vassal; Daniel and his companions carried away captive; Jehoiakim (600 B. C.) rebels, is put in chains, released; Jeremiah silent for seven years; Nebuchadrezzar (598 B. C.) marches toward Egypt; Jehoiakim dies(?).
- [30] The reigns of Jehoiachin, 597 B.C., and Zedekiah (596-586 B. C.).]
- 31) 597 B. C. The linen-girdle; the wineskin; *message to Jehoiachin*, Jer. 13 : 1-21.
- [32] The surrender of Jehoiachin, 2 Kings, 24 : 12.]
- 33) 594 B. C. Zedekiah's trip to Babylon; Jeremiah's letter.
 - a) The story of the letter, 51 : 59-64.
 - b) The message, to be content in captivity, 50 : 1-51 : 58.
- 34) 593 B. C. *Address to the envoys against rebellion; to Zedekiah; warning to the priests and people; Hananiah's prediction of return from captivity within two years; Jeremiah's reply; the yoke broken; the iron yoke; letter to the captives; correspondence with Babylonian prophets.* Jer. 27, 28, 29.
- [35] 588 B. C. Arrival of Nebuchadrezzar's army; beginning of siege.]
- 36) Embassy of Zedekiah to Jeremiah; his reply, the words concerning the people; the royal family and Jerusalem; final command to the King. 21 : 1-22 : 30.
- 37) **The remnant shall return; the Messiah shall come.** 23 : 1-8.
- 38) The priests and prophets rebuked. 23 : 9-40.
- 39) *The basket of figs; the fate of the good and of the evil.* 24 : 1-10.
- 40) Address concerning the manumission of the slaves. 34 : 8-22.
- [41] 587 B. C. The siege is raised.]
- 42) Zedekiah's question; *the answer, Nebuchadrezzar will return.* Jer. 37 : 1-10.
- 43) 587 B. C. Jeremiah arrested as a deserter; consulted in secret; condemned; lowered in the dungeon; saved by the eunuch; again consulted. 37 : 11-38 : 28.
- [44] 587 B. C. The siege resumed.]

- 45) Israel shall return from captivity; deliverance will surely come; Israel shall not be as now, forgotten and afflicted; Jerusalem shall be prosperous and in favor with God. 30: 1-24.
- 46) Peace and plenty and God's blessing shall abide with Israel; Ephraim's weeping and remorse shall disappear; Israel and Judah shall together serve God and prosper; Israel's restoration to favor is as certain as the ordinances of nature. 31: 1-40.
- 47) The purchase of land; prayer of agony to God; the reply; *judgment*, but also mercy. 32: 1-44.
- 48) Renewed promise of return, and of honor among the nations; kingly and priestly office shall be reestablished; the covenant of God is as certain as the ordinances of nature; the new covenant. 33: 1-26.
- 49) 594 B. C. Call of Ezekiel; vision of glory; commission; installation. Ezek. 1-3.¹
- 50) 592 B. C. *Four signs of coming destruction; miniature siege, reclining on side, loathsome food, shaving of hair.* Ezek. 4-5.
- 51) 592 B. C. *Destruction of Israel for idolatry; a remnant shall be left; the death of the nation; the desolation coming; the sanctuary defiled; the miserable captivity.* Ezek. 6-7.
- 52) 591 B. C. *Sermons of impending judgment:*
- (a) Vision of abominations in the temple, provoking God's wrath. Ezek. 8.
 - (b) Vision of six men with slaughter weapons; the man with the ink-horn; *judgment on the guilty.* Ezek. 9.
 - (c) *Coals of fire upon the city; vision of the cherubim.* Ezek. 10.

¹For Ezekiel cf.: Hävernick, *Comm. über den Proph. Ezechiel*; Umbreit, *Praktischer Commentar über den Ezechiel*; Kliefoth, *Das Buch Ezechiels übersetzt und erklärt*, I. and II.; Henderson, *The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel*; Zunz, *ZDMG*, XXVII., 676-84; Graetz, *Die Echtheit des Buches des Propheten Ezechiel*, *Monatschrift*, XXIII., 1874, 433-46, 515-25; Hengstenberg, *The Prophecies of Ezekiel*; Charencey, *Les Animaux de la Vision d'Eséchiél et la Symbolique Chaldéenne*; Keil, *Bibl. Comm. on the Prophecies of Ezekiel*, I. and II.; Fairbairn, *Ezekiel and the Book of his Prophecy*; ⁴Klostermann, *StKr*, 1877, 391-439; Ewald, *Comm. on the Prophets of the O. T.*, IV., 1-224; Kuhn, *StKr*, 1882, 601-88; Guthrie, *The Gospel in Ezekiel*; Plumptre, *Exp.*, 1884, VII., 1-18, 161-74, 267-81, 401-16, VIII., 1-17, 161-76, 281-93, 419-30; Cornill, *Das Buch des Proph. Ezechiel herausgegeben*; Kuenen, *Onderzoek*², II., 265-318; Driver, *Introduction*², 260-79; Skinner, *The Book of Ezekiel (Exp. Bible)*; cf. also Syl. 3, p. 6, n. 4.

- (d) Vision of the leaders of the people; *their judgment; the later mercy and salvation.* Ezek. 11.
 - (e) *Sign of the king's captivity; of quaking and trembling.* Ezek. 12: 1-20.
 - (f) *The speediness of the punishment.* Ezek. 12: 21-28.
 - (g) False prophets and prophetesses; God's hand against them. Ezek. 13.
 - (h) Idolatrous seekers after oracles; *they shall be cut off; grievous and sure punishments.* Ezek. 14.
 - (i) *Parable of the vine-tree, for burning.* Ezek. 15.
 - (j) Story of the lewd adulteress; her sin, greater than Sodom or Samaria; *great punishment; ultimate mercy.* Ezek. 16.
 - (k) Riddle of two eagles and a vine; its application to the House of David. Ezek. 17.
 - (l) God's justice; individual; towards the wicked repenting; towards the righteous revolting. Ezek. 18.
 - (m) Lamentation over the princes of Israel. Ezek. 19.
- 53) 590 B. C. *Sermons of impending judgment:*
- (a) Résumé of God's dealings with the nation; His mercy; their rebellion; *they shall be burned up like a forest.* Ezek. 20.
 - (b) God's sword has been drawn forth; *it brings judgment against Jerusalem, the kingdom, the Ammonites,* Ezek. 21.
 - (c) A catalogue of Jerusalem's sins; *she is ripe for judgment;* all classes are corrupt. Ezek. 22.
 - (d) Judah and Israel alike corrupt; their lovers destroy them; *the impending punishment.* Ezek. 23.
- 54) 588 B. C. *Announcement of the beginning of the siege: boiling of the pot; refraining from mourning.* Ezek. 24.
- 55) 588-586 B. C. *Sermons during the siege:*
- (a) 588 B. C. *God's vengeance upon Ammon, Moab, Edom, and the Philistines.* Ezek. 25.
 - (b) 587 B. C. *Prophecy against Egypt; her desolation,* Ezek. 29: 1-16.

- (c) 586 B. C.
1. *Prophecy against Tyre; her insults to Jerusalem; her utter fall.* Ezek. 26-28.
 2. *Prophecy against Egypt; her destruction by Babylon; like the overthrow of Assyria.* Ezek. 30:20-31:18.
- (d) 586 B. C. *Prophecy against Egypt; she shall go down into the pit; with all the uncircumcised nations.* Ezek. 32.
- [56] 586 B. C. The capture and destruction of Jerusalem; the fate of Zedekiah; of the inhabitants; the care taken of Jeremiah.]

3. THE PROPHETIC WORK.

- 1) The prophet no longer occupied a position of any considerable power or influence.
- 2) The false prophets are more numerous and more positive in their efforts.
- 3) The conditional element in prophecy is plainly recognized and announced.
- 4) Under the stress of circumstances the prophetic and priestly elements meet and unite in the Deuteronomic legislation.
- 5) Prophecy is largely restrained by:
 - (a) The growing influence of the priesthood.
 - (b) The suspicion and hostility of the court.
 - (c) The great influence of the false prophets.
 - (d) The presentiments of immediate disaster.
- 6) "How could the prophet exercise his imagination in depicting woes which he already so fully realized?"
- 7) Prophetic work of the preceding centuries is vindicated, but the vindication has been secured at the cost of the nation's life.

4. SUMMARIES OF THE PERIOD.

1. Ideas concerning "Right Living," "Worship," "Covenant."

- 1) The thought of personal righteousness is not so prominent; the situation is one in which the interests of the state, rather than those of the individual, are considered. Still, each prophet (Zeph., Jer., Hab. and Ezek.) con-

tributes something to the picture of "wickedness" of the times, and points out the right life for individual and nations. National righteousness excludes "rapacity," "self-aggrandizement," "oppression," "delight in conquest," "idolatry." The ideals of life in Deuteronomy are the highest yet presented, because they are in accord with the higher ideal of God which now prevails.

- 2) The evil consequences of worship on the high places are realized, and a reform movement effected by which all official worship is restricted to a central sanctuary. This is a fundamental modification of the whole scheme, and though largely priestly in its origin, is accepted and advocated by prophets. It affects, henceforth, the whole religious life. Though idolatry is revived, the idea of concentration remains. The destruction of the temple lifts "worship" to a higher spiritual plane.
- 3) A *new* covenant is announced, which shall supersede the old. God will forgive the sins of the people and "will write His requirements on the tablets of their hearts." Priests and sacrifice will not be necessary, Jehovah shall sustain a direct relation to each person (individuality).

2. Ideas concerning "God."

- 1) Jehovah is the only God deserving the name Elohim.
- 2) God handles nations as the potter handles clay.
- 3) Jehovah sustains a most tender relation to his people,—silent is his love.
- 4) The love of God, the great idea of Deuteronomy.

3. Ideas concerning "Man," "Sin," "Death."

Nothing important added.

4. Ideas of "Deliverance."

- 1) This element, in the nature of things, not large.
- 2) Conditions of deliverance, lowliness and humility (Zeph.), steadfast faith (Hab.).
- 3) The nation, after the catastrophe, will be restored to honor and prosperity (see topics 45, 46, 48).
- 4) The new covenant (see above).
- 5) The establishment of the Branch (see topic 37).

THE CERTIFICATE OF AN APOSTASY DURING THE PERSECUTION OF DECIAN.

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*Discovery of the Libellus.—Text and translation.—Peculiarities of the text.
—Restoration of it.—Historic value of the Libellus.—Conclusions.—Literature.*

A COLLECTION which is now giving some workers in the Berlin Museum trouble and pleasure is the so-called "Brugsch Collection," which was purchased and presented to the Museum by the Emperor in 1892. It consists of a great mass of documents which were unearthed in the Fayûm and which have chiefly to do with the first three centuries of the Christian era. The work of editing was begun at once, and is under the care of Doctors Wilcken, Krebs, and Viereck. Several hundreds of these manuscripts have been published as deciphered by these scholars, under the title *Urkunde des Berliner Museums: Griechische Abtheilung*.

Recently Dr. Krebs deciphered a large part of a rather ragged little papyrus which he dated June 26, 250 A.D. It was apparently a legal document of some sort, but for some time after he had deciphered it it was not recognized as possessing any especial value. Suddenly the idea—one of those happy ideas that the searcher of the minute details sometimes enjoys—struck him that this papyrus was one of the often mentioned, but unknown "libelli" which first came into use among the apostates of the persecution of Decian. A minute investigation of the papyrus, and the references of the church fathers to "libelli" of this class, soon proved with certainty that he had at hand the original application of a suspected Christian for clemency on the ground of compliance with the edict of Decian.

The neglected little papyrus became an object of interest. Professor Harnack talked about it in his "seminar." Dr. Krebs

presented it on November 30, '93 before the general session of the Berlin Academy of Science. In short this little scrap of papyrus which the Egyptian sand has kept for us for fifteen hundred years is an important contribution to our knowledge of the church of the time of Cyprian.

The text reads as follows:

- Τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν θυνσιῶν ἡρῇ
 μένοις κώ(μης)¹ Ἀλεξ(άνδρου) Νήσου
 παρὰ Αὐρηλ(ίου) Διογένου(ς) Σατα-
 βούτος ἀπὸ κώ(μης) Ἀλεξάνδ(ρου)
- 5 Νήσου² ὡς Λοβ, οὐλ(ή)
 ὁφρῦι δεξ(ῆ). Καὶ ἀεὶ
 θύων τοῖς θεοῖς διετέ-
 λεσα καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ πα-
 ροῦσιν ὑμεῖν κατὰ
- 10 τα προστετατα(γμέ)
 να ἔθυσα [κα]ὶ ἔ[σ]π[εισα]
³[κα]ὶ τῶν ἱ[ε]ρείων [έγευ]
 σάμην καὶ ἀξιώ ὑ[μᾶς]
 ὑποσημύωσθαι.
- 15 Διευτυχεῖται.
 Αὐρήλ(ιος) [Δι]ογένης ⁴ἐπιδ[έ](δωκα)].
 Αὐρήλιος σ . . ρ[. . .]
 θύοντα Μυσ[θης]
 . . . νωνος σεσ(ημείωμαι?)
- 20 ⁵[La] Αὐτοκράτορο(ς) Καί[σαρος]
 [Γα]ίου Μεσσίου Κ[ο]ίν[του]
 [Τρ]αι[ανού] Δε[κ]ίου Εἰσ[βούς]
 [Ε]ν[υχούς] Σε[β]α[στ]οῦ
 Ἐπ[είφ] β⁻

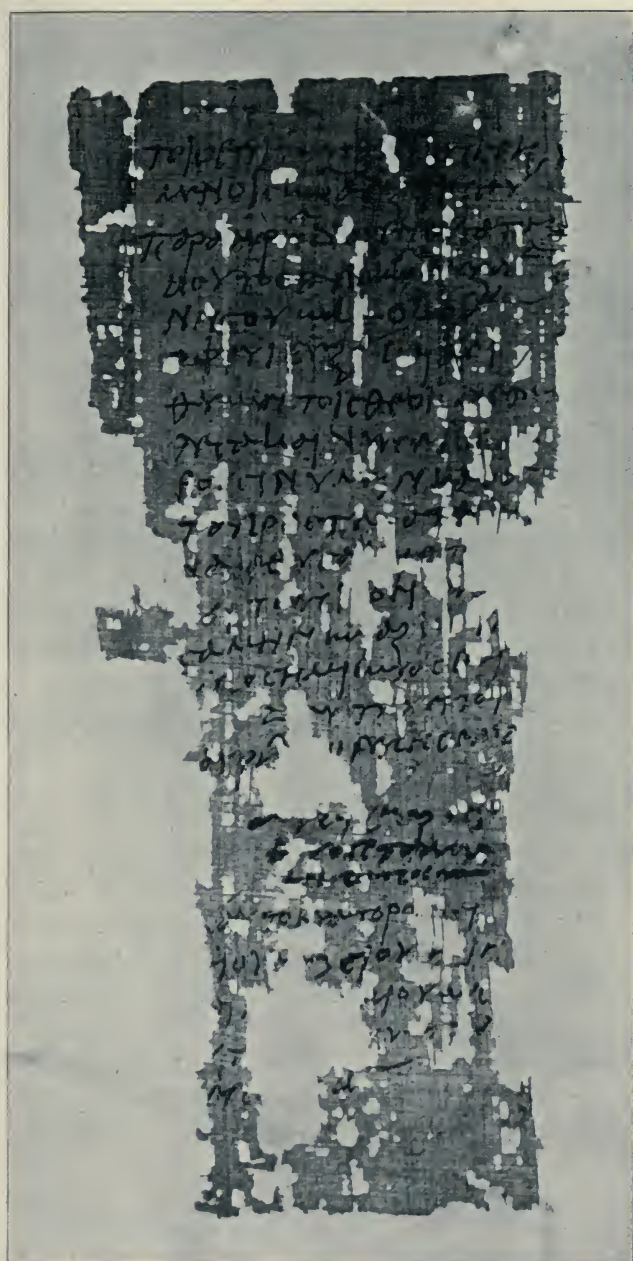
¹ Parentheses indicate abbreviations.

² Read: ὡς ἐτῶν ἐβδομήκοντα δυῶν. ἰ = ἐτῶν.

³ Brackets contain what is lacking in the papyrus.

⁴ On the papyrus the word was written ἐπιδε or ἐπιδδ.

⁵ La = ἔτους πρώτου.



THE LIBELLUS

"To the commission on sacrifices of the village Alexander's Island
 "from Aurelius Diogenes, the son of Satabas (a native) of the village
 "Alexander's Island, seventy-two years old (with) a scar over the right
 "eye-brow: As I have always, hitherto, been in the habit of offering
 "sacrifices to the gods, so have I also now in your presence, according to
 "the edict, offered sacrifices, poured libations, and eaten of the
 "consecrated food, and I beseech you to bear witness by your attest.
 "I salute you. I, Aurelius Diogenes, have made this application.
 "I Mus(thes), son of — (have seen) Aurelius sacrificing, and hereto
 "set my seal.

"In the first year of the Emperor Cæsar Gaius Messius Quintus Trajan
 "Decius Pius Felix Augustus. Epiphi. 2."

PECULIARITIES OF THE TEXT.

A single glance at the reprint of this papyrus shows us that lines 17-19 are from a different hand from that which wrote lines 1-16 and 20-24. The latter is written clearly with evident pains, and is apparently the work of the old man himself. He was doubtless in the habit of writing Greek in business and was familiar with the usual abbreviations. The phraseology which he must use for the occasion (lines 6-14) he would have no difficulty in procuring. More weighty than these probabilities, however, is the fact that in very many instances among these Fayûm papyri, it appears that the applicant had been unable to write, and a friend had written it for him. This is generally indicated. Such phrases as, "I, Arpagathes, wrote for them as they cannot write,"¹ and "I, myself, wrote for him who is uneducated,"² indicate that where another hand did the writing this must be indicated in order to make the document legal. We may be assured, then, that we have the handwriting of Aurelius Diogenes.³

The other three lines are written hurriedly, and are thick, indistinct, and official. They remind one of the modern Turkish

¹ *U. B. M.*, No. 153, l. 42.

² *U. B. M.*, No. 152.

³ These facts constrain the writer to dissent from the opinion of Dr. Breasted that lines 17-19 were written by a clerk. In the *Evening Post* (New York) of January 20, 1894, he writes: "The document itself shows that the clerkly hand that wrote it had written hundreds like it."

official who puts a few ink blots on your passport, and then makes mud of it by the use of a teaspoonful of sand. Unfortunately for us this Roman official did much the same thing, and left us an almost illegible, although almost perfectly preserved specimen of his handwriting. We may be reasonably sure of three words, however, and each is important. The first is the name of our applicant, Aurelius. The second is *θύοντα*, "sacrificing," which is the object of the verb. The third is the abbreviated form of the attest indicated by "*σεσ-*". From these three items, we reach the conclusion that the official put his seal to the fact which Diogenes affirmed in his application, namely, that he had fulfilled the law and offered sacrifices to the gods. The orthography corresponds to the common colloquial forms then current: *ει* and *ι* are interchanged, as in *ὑμῶν* and *ὑποσημιώσασθαι* (lines 9 and 14), and *αι* is put for *ε* in *διεντυχείται* (line 15).

The text is without breathings and accents, except over *ν* when it is initial, or stands before *ι*, the diæresis is used. These conditions obtain generally with manuscript of this period and place. The usual abbreviations occur, as *κω* for *κωμης*, *Αλεξ* for *Αλεξανδρον*, etc. An interesting slip of the pen occurs in line 10, where the syllable *τα* in *προσπεταγμενα* is carelessly duplicated.

THE RESTORATION OF THE TEXT.

The papyrus had lost two important parts. Parts of lines 11 and 12, 17 and 19 were missing. Professor Harnack rearranged and conjectured that lines 11 and 12 should be restored as I have already indicated in the text. He reasoned that the "things commanded" of line 10 indicated more than one act of obedience. The edict had prescribed something more than mere sacrificing. Cyprian often refers to the eating of flesh offered to the gods. Therefore, the edict contained a clause requiring this act of obedience, and the verbal stem which preceded *αμην* he conjectured to be *εγευσ*. But libations were also very common, and formed an element in worship which the "impious Christians" must be made to recognize. The other verb would naturally have reference to the libation and would be either

επιου or *εσπείσα*.

Curiously enough, after the Berlin papyrus was published, a second "libellus" of the same sort appeared in Vienna.¹ It contained the formula found in the Berlin papyrus in lines 6-14. Here the word *εσπειωσα* is very clear and *εγενεσθαιμεθα* is a most reasonable conjecture. The validity, therefore, of Professor Harnack's conjecture is thoroughly substantiated. The other hole in the papyrus (lines 17 and 19) is not so easily patched. The sense, however, is very clear. It contains the official attest, that Aurelius Diogenes had fulfilled the demands of the edict in the presence of the commission on sacrifice. In the Vienna papyrus this latter part, the attest of the commission, is entirely lacking.

With these preliminary questions settled, we are now ready to proceed to the interpretation of the text itself. A little study of this will readily convince us that it is a "libellus" with which we have to do. The official character of the document is very plain. There is in it the formal address to the commission, and sufficient description to make sure of the identity of the libellaticus. In the Berlin papyrus this is especially true, for in addition to the name of the applicant, his father's name, his age, place of residence, and the peculiar scar, which could neither be imitated nor removed, are all mentioned. The form of the application, too, conforms to the legal customs of the time. It begins with the usual form, "To" so and so, "from" so and so, and ends with the *Διευτυχετε*—I salute you. A similar formula is used in many acts, death notices, etc. The Libellus contains the stereotyped formula, "I have always sacrificed faithfully to the gods, and so now in your presence, according to the edict, I have also poured libations, and eaten of the sacrificial flesh. On this account I beseech you to grant me a certificate to that effect." Then follows the signature of the applicant—which was often given by proxy; the attest of the commission was added to this application when granted and the date, which was perhaps the same for both papyri, but was in any case 250 for the Berlin papyrus, closed the document.

¹ See note at the end of this paper.

THE HISTORIC VALUE OF THE LIBELLUS.

We have, then, before us a document of sufficient importance to characterize a whole class of apostates. Cyprian¹ made us acquainted with the name long ago, but the libellus, which gave the name libellaticus to him who used it, is now for the first time before us. The Decian persecution was not confined to the leaders of Christianity. Decius determined to destroy absolutely the strange religion. Every Christian, humble or exalted, was to be persecuted until death or apostasy resulted. First the edict was issued.² In Egypt it reached the "Epistrategien," then the "Strategien," and finally the villages. The net was so closely drawn that an especial commission was appointed in every locality and the commission was strengthened by five officials of the given district.³ The first duty of this commission was to search for all Christians or suspected Christians. They then demanded that all such should prove their loyalty to the religion of the state by offering an especial sacrifice. It was this commission before which our Diogenes presented himself, or at any rate his *libellus*, and which he addresses as: "ἐπὶ τῶν θυσίων ἡρήμενοι κόμης Ἀλεξάνδρου Νήσου."⁴

Now if Diogenes were a Christian, and had not conformed to the requirements of the edict, persecution awaited him. If, however, he could produce a certificate that he had offered sacrifice and poured libation he would be free. Modern political conditions point to the same solution of the difficulty as ancient political conditions produced. Some magistrates were quite willing to profit financially because of the persecutions, and *libelli* were bought and sold in a quiet way.⁵ On the one hand

¹ On Libelli and Libellatici in general. See Cyprian Ep., 20:2; 55:3, 13, 14, 17, 26; 67:1, 6. *De lapsis*, 27, 28, *Ep. Romana ad Cyp.*, 30:3. See also *Petri Alex. can.* 5.

² But Eusebius (*Ch. Hist.* VI, 41:1) quotes Dionysius of Alexandria: "With us the persecution did not begin with the issuance of the royal edict, but anticipated the edict by a considerable time."

³ Eus., *Ch. Hist.* VI, 42, 1.

⁴ Lines 1 and 2 of papyrus.

⁵ The following references argue, if they do not prove, such sale: *Cyp. Ep.*, 21:3;

the magistrate profited by the sale; on the other the suspected Christian paid for the privilege of the peaceful observance of his religion without having offered sacrifice or in any way compromised his conscience except by having given a bribe in the purchase of the *libellus*.

This Diogenes is now a *libellaticus*. He is in a strange plight. He is on good terms with the commission, while his neighbors are being persecuted. He had never offered sacrifice, but held a certificate of having done so. He had never denied his faith, but he was not suffering because of his loyalty. How was he to be regarded by the church?

Aube¹ classifies the apostates of the period into *sacrificati*, *thurificati*, *libellatici*. The last class comprises those who had made or had caused to be made for them a declaration of apostasy. This was apostasy of the second degree because (a) their crime was less and (b) they cared for faith more than for money. Their crime was that they allowed themselves to pass in public as apostates.² "Apostasy," says Harnack,³ "was apparently treated very summarily until the middle of the third century. Even then we find Cyprian questioning the possibility of readmitting apostates.⁴ In 251 the church machinery was put in order.⁵ The conditions of readmission were various. Between *sacrificati* and *libellatici* was a wide space. Not only the act but the various conditions and circumstances were considered in the basis of decision."⁶ Cyprian seems to summarize the matter in these words: "Therefore it was decided, dearest brother, the case of each individual having been examined into, that the receivers of certificates should be readmitted."⁷

55: 14, "*pro se dona numeravit*," "*dare me ob hoc premium*," and Tertullian *de Fuga*, 5: 12, 13, "*periculum mummis redimere*," "*tributum sibi irrogare*."

¹ *L'église et l'état dans la seconde moitié du III^e siècle*, Paris, 1885.

² For minute classification of *libellatici* see article by Hefele on "Abgefallene" in Wetzer and Welte's *Kirchen-Lexicon*, 2 Aufl., 1882.

³ Article "*Lapsi*" in Herzog u. Plitt, *Real-Encyc.*, 2 Aufl., 1881.

⁴ Cf. Fabius in Eus. *H. E.* VI: 43, 44, Dion. of Alex. in Eus. *H. E.* VI: 44-46.

⁵ Cyprian, *Ep.* 55.

⁶ Cf. McClintock & Strong, *Encyc.*, Art. *Lapsi*, *Libellaticus*.

⁷ *Ep.* 55: 17.

CONCLUSIONS.

This *libellus*, then, of which Professor Harnack says, "Every lover of early church history will take hold of it with deep feeling" has thrown light upon certain mooted questions.

1. Since the whole *libellus* except the attest of the magistrate is written in the same hand, the question whether giving (*tradere*) or receiving (*accipere*) it was the crime is settled.¹ The giver was also the receiver of the same document. The giving it then to the magistrates was the crime of apostasy.

2. We have the exact terms of the requirements made in the edict of Decian. This explains how men, women, and even nursing children suffered punishment for having eaten things offered to idols.²

3. We know better than before how definitely the persecution was accomplished through (*a*) strengthening the local officials by a commission of five, (*b*) the severe punishment threatened those officials who failed to enforce the edict³ and (*c*) the careful search for and identification of individuals.

4. The peculiar character of the apostasy of a *libellaticus* is now perfectly clear. We can understand the temptation, the apology to conscience, the procuring the form, the presentation of it to the magistrate and the result. We sympathize with the apostate in his public position, a Christian without a church, almost as solitary as "the man without a country." But we can follow him as a penitent and see him readmitted to the church.

Read in the light of this *libellus* the whole question "*De Lapsis*" is fraught with new interest and through it the discipline of the early church is better known.

On the *Libellus* as a whole see Sitzungsberichte der Königl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 30 Nov. 1893. Also A. Harnack's review of "Ein *Libellus*, etc." in *Theologische Literatur-*

¹ Justin, *Apol.*, I : 29.

² Cf. Cyprian, *De Lapsis*, 25 with the fifth edict of Maximian (308) in Eus., *De Mart. Pal.* IX : 2.

³ Cf. Gregory of Nyssa in *Vita Greg. Thaum.*

zeitung, 1894, Nr. 2. Also *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache* Band XXXI, "Neues aus dem Fayûm, etc.," von Fritz Krebs. Also James Henry Breasted's article on "The Latest Papyrus," in the *Evening Post* (N. Y.) Jan. 20, 1894.

The Vienna papyrus was published by Dr. Karl Wessely, Professor in the *Staatsgymnasium* in the third district in Vienna. Its size is 9.6 by 10.4 centimeters. The text is as follows:

Τοις ἐπὶ τῶν θύσιν ἡρημένοις
 κωμῆς φιλαδελφίας
 παρὰ ἀνρελίων σῦρου καὶ πασβείου τοῦ
 ἀδελφόν καὶ δημητρίας καὶ σαραπιάδος
 γυναικῶν [ἡ]μῶν ἐξωπλειτῶν
 αἰ θύον[τες] τοῖς θεοῖς διέτελε—
 σάμεν καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ παρόντων ὑμῶν
 κατὰ τὰ προσταχθέντα καὶ ἐσπίσαμεν
 καὶ [τῶ]ν ἰ[ερείων] ἐ[γευμαμέθα διο]
 ἀξιούμεν ὑμᾶς ὑποσημειῶ
 σασθαι ἡμῖν [space for six letters] διεντ[υχίει]
 (and in another hand)
 ἀνρηλ σῦρος καὶ πασβῆς ἐπιδέδωκ
 ἰσιδωρός ἐχρς ὃ αὐτ ἀγρς

A PARAPHRASE OF THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.¹

By PROFESSOR GEORGE B. STEVENS, PH.D., D.D.,
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CHAPTER I.

(1) I, Paul, address you Romans as one obligated to the will of Christ, commissioned by a divine call and specially set apart to the work of spreading the gospel which God has given to man,—(2-4) a message whose truths were heralded in advance by divinely inspired men in writings which, by reason of their origin and contents, are sacred, because they bear witness to the Messiah, who was, indeed, in his earthly manifestation, a descendant of David, but who, in his spiritual and essential life, was proven to be God's son by a glorious act of power, even an act of resurrection. (5) Such is the divine attestation of Jesus, who has applied God's grace to me and made me a messenger to secure, for his glory, that obedience to him which springs from faith, among the heathen peoples,—(6, 7) to whom you Christian Romans also belong,—and so, since you fall within the scope of my apostolate, I write you with salutations of grace and peace.

(8) Let the first theme of my letter be the gratitude which I feel for your growth and progress in the Christian life which is evidenced by your reputation for faithfulness in the whole Christian world. (9, 10) I may thus speak of my feeling of gratitude, for I solemnly avow that it is confirmed and illustrated by my constant prayer that God would grant me the opportunity to visit you,—(11, 12) an opportunity which I sought because of an eager desire to confirm you in the Christian life, or rather, that both you and I might together receive new strength from the reciprocal influences upon one another of the faith which we both alike cherish. (13) Nor has this desire to visit you been a mere desire with me; I have often formed a fixed purpose to carry it into effect (but have thus far been providentially prevented from so doing),—the end I had in view being to extend the work of the gospel at Rome as I have done and am doing in other Gentile communities. (14) This purpose to visit you was thus in line with my mission to fulfil my divinely imposed obligation to the heathen, regardless of nationality or condition. (15) Hence my readiness to come and work among you,—(16, 17) a readiness which I boldly profess, for I confidently glory and trust in the gospel as God's effective means of saving from sin everyone who believes on Christ, whether Jew or

¹ I have prefixed in parenthesis the number of the verses to the paraphrase, instead of affixing it, for greater convenience of reference.

heathen (though I do not forget the economic precedence which has been providentially accorded the Jew in receiving the glad tidings). The gospel, I say, can save men, for in it a way is revealed in which sinful man may be accepted before God and may stand in his presence approved and forgiven. Faith is the condition—the procuring cause, on the human side, of this acceptance—and also its result. That is, the attainment of this standing of acceptance with God is a matter of faith throughout, as the Old Testament itself already intimates.

(18) Apart from faith, it is God's *wrath* (rather than his *righteousness*) which awaits those who, by the practice of sin, prevent the truth which they do possess from ruling their lives. (19, 20) For a knowledge of God is possessed by men universally. The evidence that God has made himself known to them is found in the fact that they have had, in all periods of the world's history, through reflection upon the works of God, an idea of divine majesty,—a fact which renders them guilty for the consequences of a neglect of that knowledge. (21) It was because the heathen sinned against divinely given light, and became irreverent, ungrateful, and wickedly foolish in their thoughts of the divinity, that the moral degradation which they are experiencing came upon them. (22, 23) They gave themselves up to the follies and perversions of idolatry, and degraded the idea of God to the level of mere creature-life.

(24, 25) In consequence of this, God punished them by plunging them, through the operation of moral laws, into that degradation in which they now live and in which their lives are characterized by the most revolting and unnatural vices, instead of by supreme reverence for God, as should have been the case.

(26, 27) To such a life, I say, did God give them over,—a life in which the relations of the sexes were basely disregarded and perverted and the dire consequences of such vice realized. (28–32) And so, as they *cast out* God from their mind, he gave them in return an *outcast*¹ mind which led into every nameable sin those men who, all the while, knew God's just decree that such living leads to moral death, and yet were not only themselves guilty of it, but have reached the deeper depth of actually justifying and approving it.

CHAPTER II.

(1) Since the picture which I have just drawn of the sinfulness of the heathen world is true of mankind universally, anyone of you who condemns the Gentile must, in so doing, condemn himself, for he is guilty of the same sins. (2) I say that all are guilty before God because it is certain that he must condemn such conduct as I have described (and it is universal among men). (3) Can one of you who passes the false judgment that he is free

¹ By this clumsy play upon words I have attempted to represent the paranomasia of the apostle: οὐκ ἐδοκίμασαν . . . ἀδόκιμον νοῦν, κ. τ. λ.

from the guilt of such sin, while yet committing it, suppose that he will be exempt from God's true judgment? (4, 5) Or, not to speak of judgment, will you by such pride and folly show that you have no appreciation of God's gracious treatment which would lead you to salvation, and will you go on accumulating guilt until the final and terrible judgment day? (6-10) A day when God will render just awards to all men; eternal life to those who have been faithful and obedient to him; his holy displeasure to the factious and unrighteous;—the penalties of his wrath upon these, the blessings of his favor upon those,—awards in the administration of which God has regard to the degree of light and privilege which men have neglected, so that a severer condemnation awaits the Jew than the Gentile. (11, 12) I said that God's judgment of men would be a just one, for he is not partial to one division of mankind as against another, for it is *sin* which he will punish, whether committed by the Gentile, who has but the light of nature and conscience to guide him, or by the Jew, who possesses the fuller knowledge of duty which the Mosaic law imparts. (13) The Jews who have not kept the law cannot be saved by its mere possession, for it is not the *knowledge* of what God requires, but the *performance* of it which he accepts. (14, 15) The Gentiles have just as much prospect of salvation by works as the Jews, but neither can be saved thus for the moral perceptions of right and duty which the heathen often exhibit show that they have a moral law within them and are amenable to the principle, Doers of law shall be justified, and since neither Jews nor Gentiles are "doers" in the sense required, that of perfect obedience, they both alike fail to sustain the test. (16) On the plane of law, then, there is one principle for all: Justification for those only who fully meet the divine requirements; punishment for such as do not. This will be the law of the future judgment for all such as do not avail themselves of the provisions of God's grace by repentance and faith.

(17-21) What though you bear the theocratic name ("Jew") and rest in secure confidence of divine favor and possess the knowledge of God and duty which the Old Testament furnishes, and regard yourself as a spiritual superior among men? What does this signify if you fail to justify those claims, and, by immoral life, forfeit the benefits of your knowledge? (22-24) Do you not commit the very sins which you denounce, and so cause the heathen to despise the God whom you pretend to worship? (25) It is, indeed, a fortunate thing to be a Jew and to enjoy the advantages which God has afforded him, but if these are not put to the uses of a good life, by the Jew, he becomes no better than a heathen. (26, 27) Indeed, if a heathen should, with his feeblér light do the thing which your law requires, and which you yourselves fail to do, he would show himself to be more truly God's servant than you and would meet with more favor at the judgment. (28, 29) For it is not the practice of rites, or the possession of principles, but inward purity of life which proves one to belong to the true people of God.

CHAPTER III.

(1, 2) If, then, Jew and Gentile may thus exchange places in God's estimation (*cf.* 2 : 26-29), does anything remain of the Jew's boasted advantage? Yes, much remains, in whatever point viewed; and, first, his possession of Old Testament revelation. (3, 4) I say this advantage remains, for, even if the objection be made that many of the Jews have not accepted the Messiah and so have been false to this same Old Testament revelation, yet, God's faithful performance of the promises which he made this people is not thereby precluded. Let us remember that, though all men be false, God is true. (5, 6) It would seem, then, that human faithlessness is not only consistent with God's faithfulness, but rather exhibits it in clearer light. Is man, then, to blame for it? Is it not (looked at in a human way) rather commendable? No, for on such a principle there could be no just judgment of the world, since it confuses all moral distinctions. (7, 8) If, then, I, by my falseness, become a means of eliciting and magnifying the fidelity and truthfulness of God, can my falseness, which serves so good an end, be regarded as sinful? But carry the argument a step further. Must not this lead to the principle: Increase falseness that God may be shown to be true; promote disobedience that God's faithfulness may more plainly appear, *i. e.*, "Do evil that good may come?" I am wickedly charged with such teaching. Those who do maintain such principles are under a just condemnation. (9) What, then, is the general conclusion of the whole argument? Have we Jews any advantage over the Gentiles in respect to the prospect of salvation by works? None at all, for both classes have been proven to be, by reason of their sinfulness, without hope of such salvation, (10-18) a conclusion which the Old Testament picture of human depravity confirms.

(19, 20) And this testimony must be true of the Jews since it is found in the very Scriptures which God gave especially to them. All, then, are guilty. None can be saved by obeying law; the less so because the law only intensifies the power of sin, instead of delivering man from it.

(21, 22) We have seen that in the line of legal works there is no possibility of attaining acceptance with God. But there is another way of securing it,—the very way which the Old Testament teaches,—that is, by an act of trust in God's mercy as now revealed in Christ, and this way is open to all without distinction of race or privilege. (23, 24) For just as all men have, by sin, closed the path of salvation by merit, so to all is open on equal terms the way of a gracious salvation which is brought to man through that work of Christ by which he has purchased men's release from sin. (25, 26) This liberation was accomplished by God's so manifesting, in the death of Christ, his holy displeasure against sin that he thereby dispelled the appearance of being indifferent to evil (which was occasioned by his lenient treatment of sinners in pre-Christian times) and showed that, in forgiving the sinner who should trust in Christ, he was not acting inconsistently with the

requirements of holiness. (27) Since salvation is secured only by the renunciation of all meritorious deeds, none may allege his rights or privileges as constituting a valid claim upon God. The law-principle of salvation may encourage, but the faith-principle shuts out such presumption. (28) For man is justified by faith which involves the renunciation of merit, whether his previous obedience to the requirements of the law have been more or less complete. (29) In the light of this principle we see the universality of Christianity. All stand on the same plane before God; none may *claim* salvation; all may *receive* it on the same gracious terms. (30) God's uniform requirement is faith; he will accept all men on this one simple condition. (31) Do we then set the law (whose efficacy as a means of salvation we deny) and faith (whose efficacy we affirm) in opposition? No. The law itself confirms the very principles of faith which we maintain.

CHAPTER IV.

(1) In accord with the statement that in my doctrine of justification I confirm the law, and as an illustration of it, what do we find that our ancestor Abraham attained? Did he secure any meritorious claim upon God? (2) For if he was justified by works he may make such a claim, but this supposition is really out of the question, for (while his life may be honorable *before man*) it can furnish no ground of merit before God. (3) For all personal merit even in his case is excluded by the scriptural statement that it was his faith (not his works) which God accepted and on account of which he pronounced him righteous. (4) Now in the matter of legal obedience, not *grace* but *debt* is the principle of award. (5) But where there is no claim to perfect obedience, but, instead, a spirit of trust in God, it is that *trust* which God accepts. (6-8) This thought of a gracious treatment of man by God—a treatment better than he deserves, finds expression in the Psalm where David pronounces the man happy against whom the Lord does not reckon up the whole sum of his sins, but graciously hides them with his forgiving mercy. (9) In accordance with the truth that righteousness is attained, not in the line of works, but of faith, is not the blessing of justification open to all, irrespective of circumcision? Yes, for the Scripture, in narrating Abraham's justification, speaks, not of *circumcision*, but only of *faith*. (10) That justification takes place without regard to circumcision is also evident from the fact that Abraham was not yet circumcised when he was justified. (11) Circumcision followed faith as its sign and was therefore secondary and dependent upon it. Its chief meaning, therefore, was to bear testimony to Abraham as the man of faith irrespective of circumcision. (12) Hence Abraham's religious significance is connected primarily with his faith and not with his circumcision. Hence it is not Jews as such, but believers, whatever their nationality, who are best entitled to claim to be his spiritual sons. (13) For his religious preëminence was not won by legal works, but rests upon God's gracious acceptance of his

faith. (14) Essentially the same must be true of all real followers of Abraham, for if they won their reward by works, the principle of grace would be nullified, (15) because the law brings, not righteousness, but wrath through its intensification of the power of sin. Its immediate effect is therefore directly against man's salvation, for when it appears, transgression and a consequent consciousness of sin which forbodes punishment inevitably follow. (16) Since the law makes us objects of the divine displeasure rather than subjects of salvation, the inheritance of the blessings promised to Abraham must be entered upon by faith, the condition which corresponds to the grace which bestows them. Thus it is seen how Abraham stands for the prototype of all believers (17) [the Scripture speaks of his numerous progeny] before God in whose boundless power he so implicitly believed. (18, 19) This faith of his which remained confident in the face of all human improbability of its realization was what enabled God to make Abraham the spiritual father of mankind,—(20, 21) this unwavering confidence, I say, is what God graciously accepted for righteousness. (23–25) Now the narrative of Abraham's justification in Genesis has its chief value not as the history of an individual, but because it is typical of all God's dealings and illustrates the principles upon which he always proceeds. The narrative contains the truths which apply to us who are believers in Christ as the divinely appointed mediator of salvation.

CHAPTER V.

(1, 2) The consequences of justification are, *first*, a sense of security in our relations to God which we have obtained through Christ who has introduced us into this new *status* of acceptance with God; *next*, a joyous hope of future blessedness; (3, 4) *third*, the ability to be glad even when beset with trials and hardships, because we understand that these conditions develop moral perseverance, and this, well-tested Christian character. (5) Moreover, the reason why this hope of future good does not disappoint us is that the realization of God's love to us assures us of its fulfilment. (6) What is the guaranty of this love and of the hope founded upon it? It is found in Christ's giving himself up to death for us in our moral impotence,—(7) an act of sacrifice which could only spring from a greater love than is known among men. (8) Thus the greatness of the divine love is seen in the fact that those for whom Christ died were not the obedient and faithful but the sinful and hence the objects of God's holy displeasure.

(9) If, now, we know that the divine love went out thus toward sinners, how much easier it is to believe that the beginning of our salvation will be carried forward to its completion. (10) For, to repeat the argument, if God began the work of our salvation when we were the object of his wrath; if his love was great enough for that, how much more certain is it that, now that we have been acquitted of our guilt, we shall come to our complete life in Christ? (11) How justly, then, may we rejoice in that divine love which has

removed all obstacles to our acceptance with God, and made it possible for us to be at peace with him!

(12) In view of the truths which have been established, we may compare Christ, his work and its result, salvation, with Adam, his fatal transgression, and its consequence, physical death, which became the portion of all because his sin involved as its result the sinning of all his descendants. (13, 14) I affirm this relation between sin and death on the ground that even before the law came in to condemn sin and to stamp it as transgression, all were falling a prey to death; even those who lived during this period and had, unlike Adam, no explicit, positive command which they could break, continued to die. [(15-17) But, before carrying out the comparison between Adam and his work, and Christ and his work, note certain *differences*. The grace of God in Christ is more than a match for the sin which began with Adam and spread itself over all mankind. Man's condemnation issued from *one* trespass, but God's restoring grace has more power than *many* trespasses even, since it saves man from the power of many. We may be sure of this because it is more easily conceivable and more certain that those who receive God's gift in Christ will triumph over sin than that all should have become involved in death in consequence of Adam's trespass.] (18, 19) So then—as we began to say—as by Adam's sin all became involved in death, by Christ's work of righteous obedience is acceptance with God opened to all, for the two cases are parallel. Christ is the second Adam come to restore to God's favor those who as descendants of the first Adam are lost to it. (20, 21) Now the Old Testament system, whose saving function I deny, had just the purpose to bring out this indwelling sin into its greatest strength, so that the case of man was rendered even more hopeless than before, but the grace of God in Christ is able even to overcome this power of sin when thus intensified by the law and to bring man back to divine favor and assure him of eternal bliss.

CHAPTER VI.

(1) Shall we, from the fact that where the law brought out human sinfulness in its full force God's grace appeared in even greater power,—shall we from this fact conclude that sin is a good thing, because it evokes God's grace? (2) Such a conclusion is opposed by the very nature of the Christian life. How can those who have broken off, as by a death, all relation to the old sinful life, seek to justify any further connection with it? (3) Our baptism expressed that entrance into personal life-fellowship with Christ whose deepest meaning is: participation in the benefits of his sin-atoning, sin-destroying death. (4) This participation involves an ethical dying with Christ on his cross,—a complete breaking off of relations with the old, sinful life,—and a burial into moral death, *i. e.*, a permanent separation from the sinful world in which we formerly lived, in order that a new life in a new world of motive and action might be begun,—a life as different from the former one as was

Christ's life after his resurrection from what it was before. (5) I may thus emphasize the fact that the *negative* process called "death" and "burial to sin" implies also the *positive* process called "resurrection" to holiness, for if we experience that moral process which is the analogue of Christ's death, *i. e.*, separation from the old life, we must also experience its counterpart, the analogue of Christ's resurrection, that is, a renewed and purified moral life. (6) Our old sinful self has been put to death; the body, where sin so manifested its power, has been subdued. (7) Such a death means separation from sin. (8) And if it means separation from sin through union with Christ, it must also mean a new life of holiness through union with him. (9, 10) Christ in his death broke off all relations to sin, never again to enter into them, and at his resurrection entered a life belonging wholly to God. (11) So should the Christian consider his regeneration which is typified by his baptism as demanding at once the cessation of the sinful life and the beginning and continuance of the holy life. (12, 13) I exhort you, therefore, not to permit sin to control your bodies and their passions as it formerly did, but to subject your bodily powers to the uses of righteousness as the nature of your Christian profession demands. (14) You must not permit sin to dominate your lives, and you need not, for you are not under the law-system which always tends to intensify the bondage of men under sin, but under God's system of grace in which is disclosed a way of deliverance from sin's guilt and power.

(15) From the fact that we Christians are not under the Old Testament law, but under God's grace in the gospel, shall we conclude that we are free to break the divine law by sin? By no means. (16) In refuting such an inference let us start from the position that a man is the servant of whatever he obeys. If a man obeys sin he is sin's servant; if he obeys righteousness then he is bound to fulfil the demands of righteousness. (17) Now this latter is your case. Your obedience and service to sin are things of the past. You have committed yourselves to my teaching which enforces the demands of righteousness upon every life. (18) When you thus broke away from bondage to sin, you entered a bondage to righteousness, in which you committed yourselves to obey its requirements. (19) I am applying to these high spiritual truths terms derived from human relations so as to make the contrast between the characteristic of the old life and that of the new plain to the most undiscerning. And I apply this truth thus: just as you used to allow your bodily powers to be dominated by sin, so you should now, as Christians, make them the means of serving and promoting holiness of life. (20) For (to repeat my distinction between the two kinds of life) in your old life you were freemen in respect of righteousness, and bondmen in respect of sin; the opposite is now true; you are now free from sin and bound to righteousness. (21) But looking away from the principle to the consequences of the old sinful life, what reward did it bring? Only a fruitage of which you are ashamed, for all its results are

in the line of that final issue, moral death. (22) But the opposite of all this is your case now. Being freemen in respect to sin and bondmen in relation to God, you have holiness and everlasting life as your portion. (23) So diverse are the outcomes in the two cases. The just desert of the former is death; the gracious gift which, in the case of the latter, God bestows, is eternal life through the merit and mediation of Christ.

CHAPTER VII.

(1) Those who, like you Romans, are acquainted with law, will at once recognize the truth of the principle that the law ceases to have dominion over the man at the man's *death*. The relation between the person and the law is sundered by death. (2) An illustration and proof is seen in the fact that when a husband dies the wife is then free to marry another man. The marriage-bond is dissolved by *death*. (3) Previous to the death of one of the parties the other is not free to contract another marriage; to do so would be adultery. (4) In like manner—applying this principle to spiritual relations—the bondage of you Christians to the Old Testament law was broken by a *death*—the *moral death* to sin of one of the parties (*i. e.*, yourselves). You were under the law as your master, but are now under Christ, just as the woman whose first husband has died comes under the authority of another whom she is then free to marry. (5, 6) Our former situation under the law was one of bondage under a hard master, sin, with which the law allied itself to enslave us. But now we are freed from that master by a moral death, in order that we may freely and gladly serve our new master, Christ, not from outward constraint but from inward impulse.

(7-10) Does it follow from my apparent depreciation of the law that it is evil? No; it is not itself evil, but only the occasion of developing, by the reaction which it provokes on the part of indwelling sin, the evil in men into expression. Without law men are comparatively unaware of their inherent wickedness, but when law comes with its demands and ideals they are seen to have utterly failed to meet its requirements, and thus its immediate effect is rather to conduct them to condemnation than to the holiness of life which the law, in itself considered, contemplates. (11-14) Sin, not law, is the cause of this condemnation. The law is an instrument which sin uses for its purpose, but is in itself holy. The moral destruction which I speak of is wrought by sin which dwells in the flesh. It is against this overmastering foe that the good desires and aspirations which survive in the unregenerate man contend, but contend in vain. (15-23) My efforts to keep the law are rendered unavailing by the power of sin, which that very law calls out into greater strength. I am no more my true, my would-be self, but sin so rules my life that I am powerless to realize my best desires. Two laws or forces contend within me—sin, which allies the law with itself, and my reason; in other words, the flesh, the evil propensities and passions, and my deeper, truer moral feelings and

desires. In this conflict the evil power is completely victorious, so that I am rendered a helpless slave of sin. (24, 25) Whence shall release come? I well know now that it comes alone from Christ. Such is the inner conflict in the life that aspires after goodness; such the despair to which it is driven in its oft-baffled strivings and such the release which Christ affords.

CHAPTER VIII.

(1, 2) The state of the Christian is thus the very opposite of that which I have just described (7: 14-25). The verdict of the law is not out against him, because he has been delivered from that condemnation which the law pronounces, and from the sin which occasioned the condemnation, by the power of the Spirit which entered his life in consequence of his union with Christ. (3, 4a) The law could not free him from its own curse, but could only reaffirm its adverse verdict, not because of any defect in the law, but because of the power of sin which perpetually exposed the man to the law's condemnation. But Christ, whom God sent into the world to share our nature, apart from its sinfulness, has accomplished this deliverance, so that a way is opened for the fulfilment of the law's just requirements. (4b-6) This result is attained by establishing in man the inner dominion of the spirit which overthrows that of the flesh and determines all the aspirations and conduct of the man toward holy, spiritual life instead of toward the moral death to which it was formerly tending. (7-9) Thus the man is brought into real harmony with God—for only through the rule of the Spirit in us can the old enmity to God which sin occasioned be removed. The possession of Christ's spirit alone proclaims us truly his. (10) If we possess that spirit we have the guaranty of an imperishable life. The body must indeed die in consequence of the curse which human sin brings with it, but this death cannot affect the spirit of the man who has participated in Christ's salvation. (11) If we possess the life-giving spirit of God, he will grant us a future life and resurrection through the power of that indwelling spirit.

(12) Since the Spirit is the determining element of the Christian life, we Christians are bound to follow his guidance. (13) Only that life which he inspires is worthy to be called life. The carnal life is death and the death of the carnal impulses is life. (14) It is through following the impulses of the Spirit that we prove ourselves God's sons. (15) When we became Christians we did not enter a servile condition similar to that in which we were under the law, but we entered a filial relation in which we can address God as our Father. (16) And the inner testimony of the Spirit in our hearts assures and confirms this relation. (17) If we are God's children, then, of course, we inherit the great blessings of his kingdom. This we do, however, only because we are joined with Christ and share the sufferings which faithful service to him may entail. (18) At present the Christian must suffer for Christ's sake, but how much will the future glory of the Messianic kingdom outweigh

such suffering! (19) Of this coming blessedness we find everywhere an eager expectation. Even inanimate nature seems to be awaiting it. (20, 21) The reason is that God, in subjecting nature to the law of decay and death, mingled an element of hope with this condition which leads her to expect deliverance from this law and participation in the freedom from sin's curse which awaits God's children. (22) Such a prospect for nature seems suggested by the condition of eager yearning and intense dissatisfaction which she shows with her present condition. (23) But not only do we see this yearning for deliverance from sin's consequences on the part of nature; even Christians, who have been acquitted of their sins and have become obedient children of God, are subject to this condition of perishableness which has been impressed upon nature. They too must die, and they naturally await with hope their future deliverance from the reign of sickness and death, *i. e.*, the bestowment of an imperishable embodiment for the soul. (24, 25) I say "with hope," for this element is mingled with all our experience of salvation. We have not yet enjoyed its full fruition. Our incomplete emancipation from the law of decay and death leaves us this great boon to expect in the heavenly world.

(26) Not only does the hope just described inspire us, but the Holy Spirit aids us in our weakness and in our prayers by his all-prevailing intercessions, (27) Since this intercession is accordant with God's will he alone knows its full significance and power. (28) But there is one thing which we do know, that is, that all events coöperate to secure the final good of believers. (29) Because we were from the beginning included in God's foreknowledge and purpose and thus our standing as Christians has the whole plan of God to support it. (30) The realization of our salvation in the past and in the future but fulfils the gracious plan of God for our lives.

(31) The practical conclusion is, that God's purpose of grace is pledged to us. (32) God, who provided for our salvation in the great gift of his Son, will not withhold from us any lesser benefit. (33) None can bring a charge against God's chosen ones since God himself has acquitted them. (34) None may condemn them since Christ died, rose, and intercedes for them. (35-39) There is no hardship or suffering, not even death—no, nor any power whatsoever in all the universe which can separate us from the love which Christ has for us.

[To be concluded next month.]

The Council of Seventy.

THE following items concerning individual members of the Council of Seventy will be of interest to other members of the Council.

President Geo. S. Burroughs conducted daily morning Bible studies in connection with the International Christian Endeavor Convention in Washington. Large numbers attended these meetings and a genuine interest in systematic Bible study was aroused.

Chancellor O. C. S. Wallace conducted the Bible studies at the Baptist Young People's Assembly at Luray, Va., and Professor Ira M. Price rendered the same service at a similar assembly held at Pine Lake. These assemblies for the Baptist young people are a new feature of the work of the B. Y. P. U. They make a prominent feature of and set a high standard for Bible study.

Chancellor Wallace will prepare a course of thirty studies on the Life of Christ for the use of the *Baptist Union* in its Christian Culture courses. This course will be published in the *Union* commencing with October 1st.

Professor George S. Goodspeed is preparing the articles on the Foreshadowings of the Christ to be published in the *BIBLICAL WORLD* for the use of the members of the Bible Students' Reading Guild of the American Institute.

Professor Charles F. Kent is at work upon the second volume of his *History of the Hebrew People*.

President Charles J. Little, Professor A. C. Zenos, Professor W. D. McKenzie, and Professor D. B. MacDonald are just returning from Europe where they have spent the summer months.

Rev. John H. Barrows is now in Germany and will go to India soon where he will deliver his lectures on Christianity the Universal Religion.

Professor Sylvester Burnham and Professor C. R. Brown return after a year spent in Europe. Professor Brown has been employed upon his forthcoming commentary on Jeremiah, and Professor Burnham has been engaged in study and investigation at Göttingen.

Professor H. L. Willett conducted a Bible Institute at the Missouri State University in September.

Professor E. D. Burton will spend the months of October, November, and December in New York City, and will conduct weekly Bible studies at Vassar College.

Professor Thomas F. Day spent the summer in study at The University of Chicago.

Professors Edward L. Curtis, William R. Harper, Lincoln Hulley, D. A. McClenahan, Ira M. Price, Frank K. Sanders, H. L. Willett, Ernest D. Burton, Shailer Mathews, Rush Rhees, W. F. Steele, George S. Goodspeed, Jas. H. Breasted, George B. Foster, Edward T. Harper and C. E. Crandall have been engaged in teaching in summer schools for periods varying from ten days to twelve weeks.

The Senate of the Council of Seventy will hold its first meeting for the autumn on the first Monday in October.

The Outline Bible Club Course of the Institute was designed to meet the needs of members of young people's societies, notably the Christian Endeavor societies. Its use has developed in all of the following directions: As a course for preparatory schools where it may be simplified, if necessary, by the teacher of the class; in colleges where the instructor wishes a well-planned course, or where students wish to study in groups, or in College Christian Association classes; in the home as a systematic line of Bible reading in connection with family worship; in the church as supplying material for an adult Bible class; in the Bible work of the Young Men's Christian Association. In fact, the adaptability of the plan seems unlimited. The last of the four courses announced is now being issued. Its subject is the Work of the Old Testament Sages. It will embrace a study of the Wisdom Literature of the Old Testament. The other courses available are the Life of Christ, the Foreshadowings of the Christ, and the Founding of the Christian Church.

The attention of the members of the Bible Students' Reading Guild is called to two special topics, a consideration of which will be in line with their work for the month. Brief papers upon these subjects will be examined and criticised if sent to the headquarters of the Institute. The subjects are:

(1) The place and value of the stories from Genesis, in a consideration of the Foreshadowings of the Christ. (2) Moses' conception of Jehovah.

The courses of the Institute will this year necessitate the publishing of the following literature: (1) Monthly Direction and Question Sheets on the Work of the Old Testament Sages; (2) Monthly Postal Bulletins on the Foreshadowings of the Christ; (3) Weekly studies in the *Sunday School Times* in line with the International Lessons; (4) Monthly studies in the *Silver Cross* in line with the Outline Club Course; (5) A Syllabus of the Scripture material (Introduction to American Institute Biblical Literature Essay, Old Testament Series, No. 1), used in the course of the Reading Guild.

Notes and Opinions.

THE DATE OF THE MOSAIC LEGISLATION.

IN the BIBLICAL WORLD for June of the current year the thesis is maintained that the legislation of the Pentateuch is genuinely Mosaic on the ground that the social conditions presupposed by this legislation existed in Moses' day.¹ This is stated to be the "fundamental question." The law, it is said, "must all accord with the past history, the present environment and evident needs of the people," and an endeavor is made to show that the law of Moses thus harmonizes with the condition of Israel at the time of the Exodus. In our view exactly the reverse must be maintained. The law of the Pentateuch to us does not accord with the condition of Israel immediately prior to their entrance into the land of Canaan. Before substantiating this statement, however, it is well to notice that notwithstanding the importance of the line of argument from Israel's social condition it is not the only line for fixing the date of the Mosaic legislation. The evidence for the date of the Pentateuch is cumulative, and the conclusion is reached from a number of circumstances all pointing the same way. These circumstances are: (1) Israel's social condition at the period of the Exodus or prior to their settlement in Canaan, (2) Israel's subsequent religious history, (3) the testimony of Israel's literature, (4) the literary and historical character of the Pentateuch. These four sources of evidence taken together furnish the irrefragable proof of the non-Mosaic literary origin of the legislation of the Pentateuch. Considering now the first line of argument, one is met with the difficulty at the outset of determining exactly the social condition of Israel at the time of the Exodus. There is danger here always of a *petitio principii*. The narrative of the Pentateuch is frequently accepted as historical in its entire detail—its great historical difficulties being quietly ignored and the very conditions in Israel requiring the Mosaic legislation being tacitly assumed. Israel's social conditions also are frequently regarded as almost identical with those of the organized and cultured urban communities of Egypt and Babylonia. Much is made of the contact of Israel with civilization. But Israel's real contact with ancient Egyptian civilization was less than that of the rural negroes of the South with the Anglo-Saxon civilization of Charleston and Atlanta. The social conditions of the negroes of the South are not

¹In the article "The Chief Literary Productions of Israel before the Division of the Kingdom," by Professor John D. Davis, Ph.D., Princeton Theological Seminary, pp. 503 ff.

determined by or estimated by that of the white residents of Charleston or Atlanta; or to give perhaps a more appropriate illustration the social conditions of the rural French Canadians are not determined or estimated by those of the English residents of Toronto or Kingston. Thus also is it with Israel. Ancient Egypt and Babylonia do not determine or furnish our means for estimating her social conditions and needs at the period of the Exodus. These conditions are determined by a few facts which clearly underlie the entire history: (a) Israel was a nomadic pastoral people; (b) the tribes of Israel were loosely confederated together; (c) Israel was dominated with the purpose of securing a better home or engaged in the struggle for material prosperity and existence. The legislation of the Pentateuch, however, does not accord with these conditions: (a) That legislation presupposes throughout a settled agricultural people. Only in artificial form and a few ancient survivals does it "smack of the desert;" on the other hand it is "redolent" with orchards and vineyards and grainfields and houses and walled towns, and presupposes a settled agricultural people in Palestine. (b) The Mosaic legislation implies a people welded closely together, thoroughly organized and capable of being moved with the precision of a well-disciplined army. Israel, however, never reached even the preparatory stage for such a state of discipline until after the time of David. The undisciplined, loosely confederated Israel of the period of the Judges implies a similarly unorganized previous condition. (c) The Mosaic legislation requires a people whose dominating and controlling idea was religious; whose object above all else was to express certain religious ideas; or, in other words, that Israel was a church. But Israel at that period, according to all the laws of usual national development, was not then a church. The history of the period of the Judges again shows that Israel was simply a group of tribes bound together, it is true, by a common religion, but primarily seeking and struggling for a home or material existence. *Religious* organization is the leading feature of the Priestly Mosaic legislation. But such an organization is inconceivable among a nomadic people of the desert. The church does not thus precede the state. The levitical system, so rigid, so minute, does not harmonize with the thought, purpose, and feeling of a nomadic people, refugees from Egypt and seeking a home in Canaan. It fits, on the other hand, represents a growth of later centuries when the question of the maintenance and vindication of Jehovah's religion was the great concern of the surviving remnant of the nation. However loyal and devoted Israel was through the influence of Moses to Jehovah the God of their redemption and battles, we have no evidence that they were especially concerned with the problem that confronted the followers of Zerubbabel and Ezra. They entered Canaan not with the distinct purpose of establishing a peculiar religion but to obtain a home, to better their condition from a material point of view. They brought, it is true, a peculiar religion with them, but its peculiarity was not in religious organization and ceremony but in the character of

Jehovah as a God of righteousness. Such we believe is the interpretation which all analogies of historic development require us to give of the relation of the Mosaic legislation to the social conditions of Israel at the time of the Exodus. This legislation does not accord at all with those early times.

The other lines of argument for the late date of the Mosaic legislation we present in merest outline. The religious history of Israel in the development of the idea of the sanctuary shows a constant progress toward and not a retrograde movement from the doctrine of one central sanctuary and one priestly family as required by the Mosaic legislation.

The literature of Israel corroborates in every detail this movement. The distinctive features of the legislation of the priests' code is not only ignored by the earlier prophets, but even Jeremiah expressly asserts that commands of that character were not given in the days of the Exodus. The legislation of this priests' code cannot be clearly and plainly seen in any prophetic writings before those of Ezekiel or in any historical writing before the composition of Chronicles.

The Pentateuch itself contains three strata of laws: the code of JE, of Deuteronomy, and of the Priestly document, which differ in literary character and legal form, and match with wonderful nicety the advancing needs of Israel's changed social conditions exhibited in her religious history and the progressive forms of her literary composition. The Deuteronomic law appears in the line of thought which animated the prophet Jeremiah and the writer of Kings, just as the Priestly legislation does in that which animated the prophet Ezekiel and the Chronicler.

The conclusion so generally maintained by modern scholars, that the Mosaic legislation belongs after the division of the kingdom and not, as argued by the writer in the BIBLICAL WORLD of June, before, accords with the most certain facts of Israel's earlier and later religious and literary history. The only objection which can legitimately be urged against this view is the Pentateuchal representation of the origin of the legislation. But such a transference of late ideas and institutions in literary presentation to an early period is most usual. To have found a different course pursued by the legislators of Israel would have been surprising. "The Romans rejoiced in tracing all their characteristic institutions and customs, civil and religious," says Sir George C. Lewis, "to some celebrated founder near the beginning of the state."¹ Israel in calling her legislation Mosaic simply followed the usual and almost universal method of antiquity. There is nothing surprising in it. Another method would at that age and degree of culture have been surprising.

E. L. C.

A Definition of Miracle.—Professor Thury, of Geneva, has recently put forth the following as an essay at a satisfactory definition of miracles: "A

¹ *Credibility of Early Roman History*, p. 44.

miracle is a special (exceptional) act of power, revealing itself in an outward visible occurrence, and wrought with a moral purpose, to confirm the authority of a person or a doctrine." And he adds that while to materialism and pantheism miracles are impossible, a spiritualistic philosophy which believes in free will should find in miracles no stumbling-block.

Peter "began to curse and to swear."—In a recent book by Mr. Archer Hind attention is called to the true meaning of Mark 14:71, where Peter is said to have begun "to curse and to swear." The statement is not at all to the effect that Peter at this point fell into an old vicious habit of profanity, a view which seems to be not uncommon, but that Peter took upon himself a solemn oath that the assertion he had made was true. As a direct falsehood this was bad enough, and it is unnecessary to add to that another sin which the Greek words used in this place do not require and which has no other support.

The Scribes and Pharisees in Moses' Seat.—The reading of the *textus receptus* on this difficult passage, Matt. 23:2, 3, is defended by Rev. A. Welch in a recent contribution to the *Expository Times*. This reading enables one to translate the crucial words as indicatives instead of imperatives, and this makes Jesus' language at this point a statement of fact rather than a positive precept, thus: "The scribes and Pharisees have seated themselves on Moses' seat; all things, therefore, whatsoever they bid you, ye observe and do; but do not after their works." The defense of the T. R. reading he believes can be made on textual evidence alone, but it is made doubly sure, and the revisers' reading is made impossible, by the fact that Jesus cannot be conceived here as enjoining absolute obedience to the teaching of the Scribes and Pharisees. They had arrogated to themselves the right to succeed Moses as the religious teacher and leader of the people, and Jesus had constantly rebuked them for their unworthiness and assumption. He could not, therefore, have unqualifiedly commanded his disciples or hearers to attend to the teaching of the Pharisees—teachings which could be considered good only by their contrast with the practices which accompanied them in the lives of the religious leaders. He could, however, and this he seems at this point to have done, admit and refer to the fact that the Scribes and Pharisees, unworthy as they were, did actually occupy the position and exert the authority mentioned; and without now stopping to show the perversity of this condition of things, could go on to teach how much more important were a man's deeds and to observe strictly that, whatever teaching they were accustomed to receive from their established religious guides, they must first of all see to it that the bad deeds of their teachers should not be copied. Mr. Welch's interpretation, if not entirely satisfactory, is a much better one than that forced upon the text by the revisers' reading, and the labored attempts at explanation found in the commentaries. If

textual evidence really requires the more difficult reading here, then some other explanation must be found which will remove the inconsistency in Jesus' utterance which this reading necessitates.

A Criticism of Spitta's View of the Epistle of James.—The *Critical Review* for July contains an exposition and vigorous criticism of the view of the epistle of James which Spitta has set forth in his second volume of "*Zur Geschichte und Litteratur des Urchristentums*," recently published. Spitta maintains and argues at length that the epistle of James is a purely Jewish work from beginning to end, which was adopted by the Christians but altered in no appreciable respects excepting by the insertion of the name of Christ in two places (1:1; 2:1). The echoes of the teaching of Jesus which the letter is generally regarded as containing in abundance are traced farther back to the pre-Christian Jewish literature, and the supposed acquaintance of the author with the writings of Paul is not a necessary explanation of the phenomena. Professor Adeney, of New College, London, the reviewer of the book in which this argument is presented, concludes that it is "a most elaborate fallacy." He grants that the Jewish resemblances are demonstrated, but asks what that amounts to. "All that we know of St. James points to him as a Christian of strong Jewish sympathies, so that we should be prepared to find an especially free resort to the teachings of his people in this work, if it could be proved to have emanated from the head of the Jerusalem church. When we find phrases which seem to be echoes of the teaching of Jesus Christ matched with fragments of Jewish literature, it may be well to remember that our Lord was a Jew by birth, and that his teaching, even where it is most strikingly original, is cast in the mold of Jewish thought. . . . The mistake is to imagine we have explained a work when we have linked each of its minutest details to similar details in earlier works. We have yet to account for the building up of the whole, and to appreciate the spirit that pervades it. Where is to be found the book in later Jewish literature that can be compared with the epistle of St. James in spirit and character? This literature is characterized by puerility of thought and extravagance of language. One of the common objections to our epistle is that it is written in too good Greek to be ascribed to a native of Nazareth; and, over and above the charm of its style, the vigor and freshness of its thought, mark it out in sharp contrast with the scholastic aridity into which the later Jewish literature had degenerated. A much more important consideration is that nothing narrow, nothing low, nothing unworthy of Christianity is to be found here. . . . We have not only to account for the presence of the gems of Jewish thought; we have also to explain the total absence of the defects of the Jewish writings, and the dreary commonplaces in which unfortunately they so largely consist. This negative difference between the epistle and the works to which it is traced is never once alluded to by Spitta."

St. Luke's St. Mark.—An article upon this subject by Mr. Badham in the July number of the *Expository Times* undertakes to show that a proto-Mark is an unnecessary hypothesis in the synoptic problem. It has been regarded as improbable by some critics that Luke could have had before him the gospel of Mark as it now appears for the reason that Luke has put into his gospel different accounts of some of the incidents recorded in Mark, and has omitted some of the material which Mark's gospel contains. Thus, Luke has a different report of the call of Peter, the Baptist's relationship to Elias, the distinction of the greatest commandment, the forecast of Peter's denial, the trial before the Sanhedrin, the military outrages, and the attitude of the populace during the crucifixion. And besides the small omissions involved in these cases, Luke has one long omission as compared with the second gospel, namely, Mark 6:45-8:26, a section which contains the record of the walk on, and the stilling of, the waves, the unwashed hands, the Syro-Phœnician child, the deaf stammerer of Decapolis, the four thousand, the demand for a sign, the caution about leaven, and the blind man of Bethsaida. Nevertheless, Mr. Badham believes that Luke was in possession of Mark's gospel as we now have it, with the exception of the last twelve verses which did not belong to the gospel originally. And he is here in company with many other scholars, for the trend of opinion is in that direction, Holtzmann himself having practically yielded his former ur-Marcus theory. The argument of Mr. Badham, explaining these phenomena which seem at first sight to make his hypothesis improbable, is that Luke had before him not only the present gospel of Mark, but also other first-class documents covering somewhat the same ground. These other reports of the same incidents he sometimes chose in preference to Mark's, for reasons which in some cases are reasonably clear, even if in others they are not so. Some of the instances where Luke omits material found in the second gospel are probably due to the fact that Luke had already a sufficient amount of material of that kind for his purpose, in other cases he omits Marcan material because it will not be exactly in the line which he wishes his gospel to take (*e. g.*, the incident of the Syro-Phœnician child), and in still other cases he omits because the material does not attach itself consistently to the different account which he has preferred to use instead of Mark's. Mr. Badham therefore concludes: "Considering that so much of the second gospel is involved by what St. Luke repeats, and considering that adequate reason for the omission is never far to seek, and in addition considering that no distinction of diction or tendency has ever been detected between the sections repeated and those omitted,—all things considered, it may be fairly concluded that no proof of the existence of an ur-Marcus is afforded by the third gospel. The St. Mark which St. Luke employed was the canonical St. Mark whole and entire."

THE cut upon the cover of this number is the head of St. Cecilia, from the celebrated painting of Carlo Dolci, in which the Saint is represented as repeating upon the organ the music of heaven. Although the artist has been severely and justly criticised for the over-finish and the frequently insipid character of this work, this head of St. Cecilia is singularly pure and spiritual — a fit symbol of the higher possibilities of art and culture.



Synopses of Important Articles.

SONS OF GOD AND DAUGHTERS OF MEN. By PROFESSOR J. WILLIAM DAWSON. *Expositor*. September 1896, pp. 201-211.

The much discussed section, Gen. 6: 1-8, is an historical event, and is introduced as the occasion of the descent of the new Sethite line into evil. This leads God to determine to destroy mankind after a probation of 120 years. The explanation of the passage which makes the sons of God angels entering into marriage relation with women implies the action of demons or evil angels, and is at variance with all other statements of the Bible respecting angels. The interpretation which makes the sons of God, men of eminence, entering into marriage with women of inferior rank, is trivial and insufficient to account for the facts narrated. A third view, which interprets the passage of Sethite men allying themselves with ungodly Cainite women is rational and natural, but all of these explanations "fail in meeting entirely the historical requirements of the case, and more especially are deficient in their importing into a primeval age conditions belonging to later periods, and in failing to recognize that archaic character of the Book of Genesis which is too much overlooked by most of its modern critics." The fact is the sons of God are the Cainites and the daughters, or men of Adam, are Sethite women. From the day of Cain's birth, when Eve exclaimed, "I have gotten a man," the name *Jahveh* becomes that of the coming Redeemer. The name *Elohim* represents God as creator; the name *Jahveh*, God as the promised Redeemer. The translation, "I have gotten a man from Jahveh," is not correct. The distinction therefore, between *Elohim* and *Jahveh* existed from the time of Eve. It is *Jahveh* later who rebukes Cain, and henceforth Cain may be said to have broken with *Jahveh*. He goes out from the face of *Jahveh* to found a new tribe of men distinct from that of Adam. Cain and his descendants retain the nature-worship of *Elohim*, and so may be termed "sons of *Elohim*." They build cities and cultivate the arts of civilization. The Sethites, however, worship *Jahveh*, retain a hope of a redemption from the fall, but, toward the end of the antediluvian period, degenerate because of intermixture with the Cainites. The giants, or men of violence among the Cainites, capture wives from the feebler Sethites. "The issue of such marriages would necessarily be men of greater power and energy than either of the pure races." Why are not the Sethites called "sons of *Jahveh*"? "Because (1) if named in this way at all they should be called "sons of *Jahveh-Elohim*;" (2) since *Jahveh* was a future Redeemer, they could scarcely be called his sons; (3)

they were really the sons of Adam, since Cain had been disinherited and banished. This explains the new beginning of the genealogy of Adam in chapter five, and also the use of the terms Elohim and Jahveh. In confirmation of this theory note the statement concerning Lamech at the end of chapter four, one of the Cainites who captures Sethite wives. The words of Lamech refer to the slaying of a man, probably in the capture of his wives, and are addressed to his wives because he fears they may betray him to their injured relatives. The story of Lamech connects the genealogy of Cain with the narrative of mixed marriages in Gen. 6. Note further the distinction between Jahveh and Elohim in the deluge narrative itself, the two capacities of Redeemer and Creator being recognized. It is Elohim who produces the deluge, instructs Noah as to the ark, delivers him from the receding waters. It is Jahveh, however, whose spirit strives with men, is grieved at heart with their wickedness, grants the respite of 120 years, instructs Noah as to clean beasts, shuts in Noah into the ark, accepts Noah's sacrifice, and promises that there shall never again be a flood. The correct interpretation of the mixed marriages, therefore, furnishes us the keynote for the interpretation of all the early chapters of Genesis. What seems to be an enigmatical expression is simple enough when interpreted from the point of view of primitive times. It is possible that the three races of antediluvian men, namely, Canstadt, Truchère, and Cro-Magnon races, find an explanation in this old account of the antediluvian giants. The first and second represent the lowest and highest physical organization. The third has the characteristics of the half-blood or hybrid. No difficulty is to be found in the question how this account of the antediluvian world has been transmitted. The discoveries in Chaldea and Egypt, which carry us back long before the time of Abraham, are sufficient to explain the transmission.

It is difficult to understand how the position taken in this paper could appeal to a mind so acute as that of the author of the paper. A better example of specious reasoning is rarely found. The interpretation is in direct conflict with (1) even the conservative results of criticism; (2) the history of the Messianic idea; (3) the simplest interpretation of words which are used elsewhere in the same sense; (4) any true conception of the material of the first chapters of Genesis. The writer rejects all current explanations on the ground that they fail to recognize the archaic character of the Book of Genesis, and at the same time introduces into the passage more New Testament theology and modern conceptions than were contained in all the current explanations put together.

This article is a fair example of the attempt of a scientist to deal with questions involving a knowledge of the history of theological thought, and is only surpassed, as a failure, by the efforts of theologians to do work in the department of science.

W. R. H.

Work and Workers.

MR. ABRAHAM is engaged in the preparation of a work entitled *Judas Maccabæus and the Conflict between Hellenism and Hebraism*, to be published soon by G. P. Putnam's Sons.

DR. GEORGE R. BERRY, Assistant in Semitics at the University of Chicago, has resigned to accept the position of Instructor in Semitic Languages at Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y.

PROFESSOR NATHANIEL SCHMIDT, of Colgate University at Hamilton, N. Y., has resigned his position there to become Professor of the Semitic Languages in Cornell University.

PROFESSOR GEORGE HARRIS succeeds Professor Egbert C. Smyth as President of the faculty of Andover Seminary. Dr. Smyth will continue his work as before in connection with his chair.

PROFESSOR W. W. WHITE, of the Moody Bible Institute, Chicago, has gone to Calcutta, India, where for two years he is to be a teacher of the English Bible to the native students in that city.

MISS ALICE A. MENDENHALL, the holder of the Graduate Scholarship in Biblical Languages and Literature at Bryn Mawr College, has been appointed to the professorship of Hebrew and Biblical Studies at Earlham College, Indiana.

REV. E. D. MORRIS, D.D., who has been for twenty-nine years practically at the head of Lane Theological Seminary, Cincinnati, has resigned from the position, and will be succeeded, January 1, by Rev. Henry Goodwin Smith of Freehold, N. J.

MR. FORBES ROBINSON has just issued the Coptic Apocryphal Gospels. Various fragments of the Apocrypha are published, some here for the first time. The author's purpose is to show the influence of the ancient Egyptian religion upon Coptic Christianity.

THE second volume of Professor McCurdy's *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments* has just been issued by the Macmillan Co. The third volume, completing the work, is promised for the early part of 1897. A new and revised edition of Vol. I. is about to be published.

PROFESSOR JULIUS EUTING, of Strassburg, has just published Part I. of his journey in inner Arabia. Twelve years have passed since Professor Euting's journey, but the descriptions which the writer gives, together with his maps and drawings, will be of very great value.

HENRY CLARK WARREN, of Cambridge, Mass., has published, in Harvard Oriental Series, *Buddhism in Translations*, a series of translations of important extracts from the Pali Buddhist Scriptures. The most interesting feature of the book is the fact that by these translations the science of the Buddhist doctrine is indicated.

A VALUABLE series of essays which have appeared during the year in the *Outlook* are to be issued in book form this month, under the title *Prophets of the Christian Faith*. The subjects are mainly biographical, dealing with leaders of religious thought both ancient and modern. The book will be of special interest to those who have not read the articles as they came out in the paper, and its value is by no means limited to a single reading.

IN A pamphlet just issued by Professor Zimmern, entitled "Vater, Sohn und Fürsprecher in der Babylonischen Gottesvorstellung," the writer draws a comparison between the Babylonian triads of gods, for example, Ea, the Father-god, Marduk, his firstborn, and Nusku, the Fire-god, and the doctrine of the Trinity. In the Babylonian belief the Fire-god is represented as the healer of suffering mankind, and is a mediator. Cf. Matt. 3:11.

THE friends of Professor Bernhard Weiss, of Berlin, are planning to celebrate his approaching seventieth birthday, after the manner common in Germany, and followed four years ago in the case of Professor Weizsäcker of Tübingen, by the publication of a volume of essays dedicated to him. Some of the best known scholars of Germany will contribute to it.

Professor Weiss himself is preparing a new edition of his *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, which will appear late this year or early in 1897.

THE trustees of Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, have called Rev. Dr. D. A. Hayes, of the Iliff School of Theology, University of Denver, to occupy the recently established chair of English Exegesis. This makes it possible to take a complete course at that institution, and receive formal graduation, without a knowledge of any language but the English. To send forth among men a professional teacher of the Bible who has no knowledge of the languages in which the book was written may, by force of circumstances, be a necessity, but it should never be regarded by anyone as justifiable except in rare cases.

FROM July 14 to 24 the Presbyterians of the maritime provinces of Canada held their second Summer School of Theology at their college in Halifax. Over sixty were in attendance, most of them ministers. The principal lec-

turers were Principal Pollok, Professor Scott, of Chicago ; Professor Watson, of Queen's University, Kingston, Ont. ; Professor Currie, Professor Falconer, and Rev. Henry Dickie, A.M., of Windsor, N. S. So helpful did the school prove that at its close it was unanimously resolved to continue it, and suggestions were made for its improvement. It is expected that in the future more place will be given to the teaching of the Bible.

WE venture to call the attention of all who are interested in the translation of the New Testament into language which can be understood by all the people, to a translation of the Sermon on the Mount which, as the preface states, "is not a paraphrase but an attempt at a more literal rendering than the received version, done from the Latin Vulgate and diligently compared with the original Greek." The following lines will sufficiently illustrate the character of this new *literal* version :

"Immortal are the votaries of the breath : because theirs is the realm of the over-world.

Immortal are they who mourn : because they shall be interceded for.

Immortal are the tranquil ones : because they shall inherit the earth.

Immortal are they who hunger and thirst after right conduct : because they shall be provided for."

The same little volume contains the following specimen of translation from the epistles of Paul :

"But concerning the Breath-beings, brother, I do not wish you to be ignorant. You know that you were once of the common herd, deceived by means of the voiceless shells even as ye were allured. For that reason I make known to you that no one speaking by the Breath of God calls Jesus a temple-offering."

This interesting volume is published in Dublin at the office of the *Irish Theosophist*.

Book Reviews.

Handbuch der alttestamentlichen Theologie. Von AUGUST DILLMANN. Aus dem Nachlass des Verfassers herausgegeben von Rudolf Kittel, Ord. Professor der Theologie in Breslau. 1895. Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel. Octavo, pp. viii+565. Price M. 11.

The manuscripts of the late Professor Dillmann include two complete sets of lectures on the theology of the Old Testament delivered at different times to his class in the University of Berlin. Those made use of in the summer semester of 1894 constitute the foundation of this work. As the author died on July 4th of that year these lectures may be safely regarded as representing his latest thoughts on this important subject. Many of his views are no doubt well known through his commentaries which have been so widely read and so profoundly influential, but students generally have never before had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the systematic teaching of this eminent scholar and thinker concerning the religion of the Old Testament as a whole. Professor Kittel has, therefore, acted wisely in yielding to solicitations from many quarters to work up the material at his disposal for publication. He has discharged his task with a full sense of the risks incurred. Posthumous works are so often unsatisfactory that it was quite reasonable that he should pause before adding to their number. In this instance, however, the Christian world has every reason to feel under deep obligations to the editor for deciding not to withhold the manuscript with which he had been entrusted, and for having done his part with so much tact and self-effacement. Probably no other scholar would have been so punctiliously faithful to his trust, and there is certainly none who would have been more sympathetic, for Professor Kittel stands nearer to Dillmann than does perhaps any other living German professor. Of course lectures intended in the first instance for oral teaching could not be prepared for the press without many alterations. Much has been omitted, especially in the part treating of individual doctrines. Clauses have been transposed, and many finishing touches have been added. There has consequently been considerable room for the intrusion of editorial subjectivity, a certain amount of which was inevitable under the circumstances; but there is no reason to doubt the substantial correspondence of the book with what the author himself would have issued. It goes without saying that palpable errors have been removed. Personalities have also been judiciously eliminated.

After a short introduction the subject is handled under three heads. The

nature and character of the religion of the Old Testament are first defined. Then its course from its anticipations in the times of the patriarchs to the advent of Christianity is carefully traced. Last its doctrines are successively examined. In other words the three divisions may be accurately described as: (1) general survey; (2) history; (3) systematic theology. This method which is essentially different from that followed by Smend and others claims (and with considerable justice) to be economical of the reader's time and at ention, and to be logical in its order.

The distinctive idea of the work as contrasted with the writings of the Vatke-Kuenen-Wellhausen school is the supernatural origin of the religion of the Old Testament. Whilst fully in accord with modern ideas on many points, for example, the origin of the Pentateuch (for whilst differing as to the date of the Priestly Code Dillmann was in substantial agreement with most recent critics as to the composite character of the so-called Books of Moses), and many of the narratives in the historical books, such as the accounts of the crossing of Jordan by the Israelites and the fall of Jericho which, he maintains, would be grievously misunderstood if taken literally, he contends with great earnestness and eloquence that the religion of ancient Israel can only be accounted for by direct revelation. It is quite impossible, in his opinion, to explain it in any other way. It was not derived from any earlier religious system, Chaldean, for instance, or Egyptian. It was not slowly developed from a faith differing very little from the faiths of the nations round. It cannot be ascribed to the special capacities of the Semitic race, for while the latter may have made the Israelites more receptive, they could not have originated a religion differing from other religions in its historical origin, in its conception of God, which was neither polytheistic, nor dualistic, nor pantheistic, in its missionary spirit, and in its reference of worship to the sanctification of the worshiper. The last point, the peculiar ethical character of the religion of the Old Testament, is strongly emphasized. The hypothesis of gradual development which has been so attractively presented by Smend, who, however, only moves on the lines of Wellhausen, is met with the following objections. If it is asked how laws like Exodus chapters 20-23 can have been the deposit left by the oral Torah of the priests of many Israelitish sanctuaries during the first four to six centuries of the sojourn in Canaan unless these priests had a common standard to direct them; there is no answer. If it is further asked where Israel's victorious energy in the time of the Conquest and the age of David came from if its religion was not superior to that of those whom it conquered; there is again no answer. The assertion that the change from the older Jahvism to ethical monotheism was occasioned by the pressure of the Syrian wars after Elisha and still more by the Assyrian advance is characterized as topsy-turvy. If the national disasters of the Babylonian time were able to exert so strong a developing influence on religion why did they actually exert it only on Israel? Why not

also on Ammon, Moab, Edom, the Philistines, the Phœnicians, the Syrians? So far from these national disasters producing the higher ethical conception of God they were accompanied by a more pronounced revolt from Jehovah and a more signal relapse into pagan forms of worship. Dr. James Robertson's *Early Religion of Israel* is recommended as "hitting the nail on the head," although it appeared before the work of Smend referred to.

The relation of the Old Testament religion to Christianity and the nature and sphere of revelation are also discussed with great force and freshness. The religion of the New Testament and that of the Old have the same foundation. The difference lies in degree, not in kind. The one represents a lower stage of development, the other a higher. What is contained in the one only in germ is brought to maturity in the other. Revelation as exhibited in the Bible is God's progressive disclosure of his character and will. It deals only with religion. It has nothing to do with historical or scientific research. And it has long ceased. It belonged to antiquity and to it alone. Later teachers may be religious heroes but they are not revealers. Their acquaintance with revelation is secondary not primary.

The historical portion which fills 128 pages is full of interest and suggestiveness. The monotheism of the Israelites and the polytheism of the other Terahites are accounted for on the supposition that in the age of Abraham (who must be thought of as a real person) polytheism was not so far developed in his family that the monotheistic consciousness had quite disappeared, and his superiority consisted in his simpler, purer religious thought, and in the way in which he allowed it to be fostered by experience. There was a stage in early religious life, contends our author, in which the two conceptions of God as one and as many lay side by side without any decision in favor of the one or the other. From this point of indifference there might be a positive movement either towards monotheism or towards polytheism. Such a point was reached among the Terahites at the time referred to. Through Abraham's influence part decided for monotheism and thus became capable of receiving the progressive revelation of the divine character and will which we find recorded in the Hebrew Scriptures. The sojourn in Egypt, the exodus, the giving of the law in the wilderness, and the occupation of Canaan are regarded as historical events the accounts of which in the Hexateuch, although written long afterwards and therefore traditional, and also decorated with many ideal touches, rest, as to their main substance, on accurate reminiscences. Very little room is conceded to Egyptian influence on the religion of the Old Testament. Much which has been ascribed to Egypt is really of Semitic origin; and a sharper contrast to the system of caste which prevailed in the valley of the Nile cannot be found than is suggested by the words: "Ye shall be to me a kingdom of priests" (Exodus 19:6). The title of the Israelites to Canaan, the significance of the period of the Judges, the character of David, the reasons for the fall of the northern kingdom and the relative permanence

of the southern one, the meaning of the exile in Jehovah's education of his people, the special task of the restored community, and the wrong paths into which Judaism wandered during the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era are the points to which attention is mainly directed. Space admits of only one quotation out of a large number of tempting passages: "Had Christ come in the sixth century he would have been misunderstood and his work would have ended in failure. All would have rejected him with perhaps the sole exception of the one who entered most deeply in anticipation into his character and work, the prophet of Isaiah 41-53, and 61. As at the present day the gospel produces no fruit in the life of the individual where the law has not previously done its work, so also in the life of the people of revelation the law must exert its full influence before Christ could be welcomed as a Saviour."

The last and longest portion, in which the theology of the Old Testament is dissected into its component parts, is not less interesting and fruitful. There is perhaps a little want of clearness in some places, for instance in the discussion of the first sin and in the chapter on angels, but in the main the treatment is admirable. There are indeed details which are open to question, but the accuracy of the representation as a whole (from Dillmann's point of view) will be generally admitted.

The erudition displayed throughout the work is worthy of the author's standing. If a criticism may be hazarded, Assyriology has hardly received sufficient attention. No notice, for example, is taken of the curious parallel in some of the Tel-el-Amarna tablets to the use of *Elohim* in the Hebrew Bible. Still this is a small drawback. The book is wonderfully learned, thoughtful, and devout, and will heighten Dillmann's reputation as a Christian and a theologian without lowering it as a scholar.

W. TAYLOR SMITH.

The Wise Men of Ancient Israel and their Proverbs. By CHARLES FOSTER KENT, Brown University. Boston: Silver, Burdette & Co., 1895. Pp. 208. 8vo. Cloth, \$1.00.

Of the three divisions of Old Testament literature, that of the Sages is probably least known and least appreciated. At the same time it is true that in most respects the literature of the Sages is of more practical value today than any other portion of the Old Testament. A large amount of this lack of appreciation is due to the fact that this literature has not been made to stand out by itself. What is true of the Sage literature in general is especially true of the book of Proverbs. While some may find pleasure in reading the book, the majority of readers care nothing for it, because it is deficient in scientific arrangement, or, if one may say it, in order of any kind. A real service of high character has been performed by Professor Kent in his effort to

classify the material of the book. The seven canons adopted in the work of classification (see preface, 4, 5) are correct. Exception can be taken to no one of them. At the same time, it is probable that no two authors, on the basis of these rules, would reach the same classification. The book consists of three parts. The first under the head of Introductory Studies, discusses the Hebrew Wise Men; the Different Types of Wisdom Literature; Proverbs and Proverb Making; the Book of Proverbs. A large amount of valuable material for the ordinary reader will be found in the seventy-three pages of the introduction. Nowhere, within the same compass, will there be found a more readable statement upon the topics named.

There follows in Part II a classification of proverbs. This includes the rearrangement of the material of the book under the following heads: (1) General Introduction commending Wisdom, (2) Man, (3) The Duties of Man, (4) The Rewards of Human Conduct, (5) God, (6) Doctrinal Proverbs, (7) Numerical Enigmas.

Part III includes two supplementary studies, both of which are exceedingly suggestive. *Social Teachings of the Book of Proverbs*, in which the author attempts to point out the social condition of Israel as reflected in the proverbs and the Sages' ideas of the duties of man in society; *Use by Jesus of the Book of Proverbs*, the material of which will be comparatively new to most readers, although it has been treated, as Dr. Kent himself acknowledges in his preface, by Rev. R. F. Horton in the *Expositor* of 1888. The kingdom of Christ being reared upon the foundations already existing in the Old Testament, it would be strange indeed if Jesus had not been familiar with the wisdom of the Hebrew Sages and especially "with the great repository of crystallized experience, the book of Proverbs." His identification of himself with personified wisdom, and his constant reference in this connection to passages in the Proverbs, shows not only familiarity with the book, but a connection between his mind and the thought of Hebrew wisdom, as well as with the thought of Hebrew prophecy. Quotations in the New Testament from Proverbs are frequent, and in many cases the thought of the New Testament is but a reproduction in other language of the thought of a passage in Proverbs. "The present investigation corroborates the great and important fact, which is so often overlooked, that the Old and New Testaments are a unit, indivisible, each recording parts of the same great divine plan. It has also demonstrated that Christianity is founded not alone upon the work of the priests and prophets. A very large and important portion of that foundation was laid by those quiet workers of ancient Israel, the wise. In seven out of the eight beatitudes Jesus fulfilled—that is, brought to perfect fruition—the germ of truth contained in the Proverbs. More than half of the teachings preserved in the Sermon on the Mount bear on their face the indications of their genetic relationship to the earlier wisdom. Many of the most familiar gospel parables represent the expansion of an idea or figure first presented in some antique

saying of the Sages. On more than one occasion the Master found in the portrayal of personified wisdom language with which to describe his own nature. In almost every recorded address, he indicated his acquaintance with and high esteem for the truths treasured up in the storehouse of his nation's experience."

We do not hesitate to say that the student of the Bible will find the book of Proverbs a far more interesting and profitable book if read according to the classification suggested. We should probably modify in many cases the arrangement given; for example, the distinctions indicated on pages 76 and 77 in the description of wisdom are not strictly logical or justified in every case by the thought; but the modifications would be only in detail. The plan as a whole has been admirably executed. Three general suggestions may be made: (1) The publication somewhere of the best literature upon the subject. This would not have occupied much space and would have been very valuable to many. (2) Footnotes giving in a word the interpretation of doubtful passages. This might have been accomplished without materially increasing the size of the book. (3) Even in a book of this character, based upon the Revised Version, it would have been wise in many instances either to have changed the Revised Version, calling attention to the fact, or to have suggested an alternative rendering in the margin. The book will do much to remove a widespread ignorance of the work of the Hebrew Sages.

W. R. H.

Aus Jechiel Lichtenstein's Hebraeischen Kommentar zum Neuen Testament.

Von einem seiner Schüler. Verlag der Akademischen Buchhandlung. W. Faber, Leipzig, 1895. 46 pp. octavo. Price 40 pfennige.

This insignificant looking tract, which is No. 43 of the publications of the Institutum Judaicum of Leipsic, consists of an interesting introduction and eight specimens in German of a Hebrew commentary on the whole of the New Testament by an accomplished Jewish scholar who represents for modern times the Ebionitism of the early centuries. Three of these specimens (Nos. 1, 2 and 8) deal with the genealogies in Matthew and Luke in a curious but suggestive fashion. The most interesting note (No. 7) refers to the vexed question of the day of the last supper. The writer assumes that it was the thirteenth of Nisan, and endeavors to account for the choice of that day from the Talmud. Students will be glad to know that a German translation of the commentary is in progress. Its methods, it is true, diverge widely from those of modern exegesis, but it is not improbable that they often hit the mark more successfully. Jechiel Lichtenstein is so intimate with the ancient thought of his nation that he can follow it in its tortuous windings far better than a Gentile.

W. T. S.

Greifswalder Studien. Theologische Abhandlungen HERMANN CREMER zum 25 jährigen Professorenjubiläum dargebracht. Gütersloh : C. Bertelsmann, 1895, 358 pages, 8vo. Price M. 6.

It is not more than a twelvemonth since the pupils and friends of Professor Weizsäcker, of Tübingen, celebrated his jubilee as docent by the publication of a volume of special researches in the department in which that savant is a recognized authority. While the essays there published were an excellent index to the methods and manners of the best theological investigation from the more liberal point of view, the present memorial volume brings twelve "studies," which in an equally satisfactory manner represent the ideas and ideals of the conservative school. Both thus have individual as well as representative value. The only exception to the conservatism of these essays is the second, by Professor Giesebrecht, also of Greifswald, who from pages 37-81 discusses the "Fundamental Ideas on the Conditions of the Prophetic Calling." It is the writer's object to find a golden middle between the views of König and his supernaturalism and the naturalistic ideas of Kuenen on prophecy in Israel. The exposition shows strong leanings toward the latter. Thus he says, page 48, "By no means every prediction has been fulfilled." Again: "Modern criticism has made it evident that the purely supernaturalistic conception of divine revelation, which was the chief factor in the older type of orthodoxy, must be rejected and be supplemented by a view that does better justice to the human factor in the individual and national life of Israel," page 66. Still more positively is this tendency found in the following, on page 72: "To the consequences of these ideas belongs also the doctrine that Old Testament prophecy, when regarded in its historical origin, originated in exactly the same manner in which other prophecy arose. As it was the common opinion of antiquity that the gods had special intimate favorites to whom, while in ecstatic condition, they revealed their secrets, thus Israel thought that Jahve did this through the visions of the prophets. Without this general faith of the ancient world prophecy would not have originated in Israel, and certainly many of Israel's prophets did not get beyond the stage of natural predictions."

The other eleven essays, without exception, breathe a more conservative spirit. Of the strictly biblical investigations, one by Professor Oettli, on the "Cultus in Amos and Hosea" (pages 1-35), and one by Professor Zöckler, on "The Acts as the Object of Higher and Lower Criticism" (pages 102-147), easily stand out as articles of exceptional merit, though from a different point of view. The former is, strictly speaking, original research, the latter is chiefly a compilation; both are models of their kind. Oettli takes issue with the current criticism of the day in regard to the position of Amos and Hosea in relation to the cultus described in the Pentateuch, especially the Priest codex. After giving an historical survey of the times and a detailed examination of the pertinent passages in these prophets, he maintains that

they did not condemn the cultus as such, but merely condemned sacrifices and cultus as mere outward observance, practiced for the purpose of turning the heart to Jahve, and intended to supply the place of genuine worship and piety. Not the use, but only the abuse of the sacrificial system finds no favor in their eyes. He says (pages 33 f.): "The polemic of the prophets against the cultus is, however, not to be regarded as an absolute rejection, but leaves untouched the right of this cultus as based upon divine revelation, and as the expression of the covenant relation of the heart to Jahve for those times and the future." If Oettli's exposition is right he has pointed out a serious weakness in the reconstructive process of the new criticism of the Old Testament.

Zöckler is always interesting and instructive. He is doubly so here, where he develops the Blass theory concerning the double edition of the text of the Acts from the hand of the author, Luke, himself, explaining in this way the differences between the common text of the Western group of manuscripts and the variants and additions of the Eastern group, best represented in the Codex Bezae (D) and the Syriac version of Philoxenus. Zöckler is an enthusiastic advocate of the theory, and adds a mass of new material in its corroboration. The trend of the essay is to show that biblical criticism properly applied does not hurt or harm, but benefits the cause of conservative teachings.

Of the other articles a number treat of details of certain New Testament exegetical problems. Thus Professor Schlatter, generally recognized as in the very front rank of conservative New Testament scholars, contributes an interpretation of Mark 7:21-23. The leading thought is this: "Faith, even in its highest expression, is, according to the New Testament, not only useless, but even blameworthy, if it is not accompanied by obedience carrying out that which God commands."

There is some inner connection between the preceding and the problem discussed by Dr. Hausleiter, who asks: "What does the apostle Paul understand by Christian faith?" He analyzes especially the technical term, *πίστις χριστοῦ* (pages 161-181), and concludes that "faith of Christ" does not mean merely faith *in* Christ, but faith *produced* by Christ, *based upon* Christ, the genitive being thus not the objective, but that of origin. Of special value to Bible students is the article of Professor Victor Schultze, of Greifswald, easily the leading living Protestant authority on monumental theology who discusses "Roll and Codex," and, by noting the transition of the New Testament roll to the codex, furnishes valuable data on the history of the New Testament.

Other biblical essays in this collection are on the "Pauline Doctrine of Election or Predestination," by Dr. Dalmers; a splendid discussion on "The Man from Heaven," in 1 Cor. 15:47, by the brilliant scholar, Dr. Lütgert; an analysis of Phil. 2:12-14, by Docent Schäder. The other essays are dog-

matical or historical, the leading one being a criticism of the Ritschl school of theology by the younger Professor Cremer. But the whole volume is of exceptional interest to the close student of God's word.

G. H. S.

The Shorter Bible, chronologically arranged, being the Holy Bible abridged and with its readings synchronized for popular reading. By LUCY RIDER MEYER, A.M., M.D., Editor. With an Introduction by BISHOP JOHN H. VINCENT. New York: Hunt & Eaton, 1895. Pp. 963. Price, \$2.50.

We should welcome the Bible in any form, provided such form does not do violence to the general meaning of the text. The editor of this shorter Bible has used scissors and paste in a commendable manner, and has given as the result a book for popular reading. She attempts to set in parallel columns the history of the kingdom of Judah and of Israel. But the method will scarcely clarify the matter for the popular reader. The arrangement of the Psalms in chronological order presents some curious conjunctions. For the presentation of the best critical results of the day the book has no value whatever. But for popular use it may serve a good purpose in interesting some readers in the Bible as history and literature, and may lead to the use of the Bible as a whole, and further to the best works on its arrangement and interpretation. It can do little harm.

MI.

LITERARY NOTES.

THE MODERN READER'S BIBLE is "a series of works from the sacred Scriptures presented in modern literary form." Professor Moulton has captured or produced a good idea. The Bible is not interesting to large classes of people, even as literature. It is so full of archaisms in language, form, and thought that it is often quietly ignored. In fifteen beautiful little volumes, the arranger expects to present in literary form on the basis of the Revised Version all of the books of the Old Testament, together with some apocryphal literature. Several have already appeared, which serve to show what the set will be when finished. Some of the arrangements add greatly to the clearness of the text, while others, at least to those familiar with the Bible, rather confuse the thoughts. *Biblical Idyls* presents in a very neat, helpful form the "Song of Solomon," "The Book of Ruth" and the apocryphal "Book of Tobit." The reason for certain forms and readings, etc., are stated in notes. *The Book of Job* is one of the choicest of the series. An elaborate introduction prepares the reader for a full appreciation of the following pages. The verse structure, though sometimes apparently stiff, still adds beauty and grace to page as well as to understanding of the theme and discussion. *Deuteronomy* gains much by its partition into speeches with

preface and conclusion. Its lifelike advance, its majestic theme are dignified and made impressive by the discriminating work of Professor Moulton. The latest volume of the series that has appeared is that on *Genesis*.

Mr. Lee S. Smith's *Through Egypt to Palestine*, published by the Fleming H. Revell Company, is a readable account of an American traveler's journey over the beaten tourist's track through Bible lands, and is interestingly illustrated. The amount of valuable information in it for a fairly intelligent Bible student is small, but it is comparatively free from errors, and will fill a Sabbath afternoon pleasantly and not altogether unprofitably.

It is significant of the interest in the study of the Bible that prevails in Great Britain, and especially in Scotland, that there is a demand for such works as Messrs. T. & T. Clark, of Edinburgh, are constantly issuing in their *Handbooks for Bible Classes* and *Bible Class Primers*. These books are, we are informed, issued in large editions and used as text-books in Bible classes. One of the most recent issues in the Primer series is a little book on *Christian Character; A Study in New Testament Morality*. It is excellently done, and we wish it could be read by thousands of young people in America. It is sold by Charles Scribner's Sons for 25 cents.

To the recent issues in the series of Handbooks for Bible Classes belongs an excellent work by Rev. J. Feather entitled, *The Last of the Prophets: A Study of the Life, Teaching, and Character of John the Baptist*. Mr. Feather writes in the historic spirit, with sympathy for his subject and appreciation of the problems involved. These latter are discussed with fairness, good judgment, and in most cases with reasonable fulness. Like all of the series this volume is imported by Charles Scribner's Sons.

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"THE PLACE CALLED CALVARY"

See page 401

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

CONTINUING

The Old and New Testament Student

VOLUME VIII.

NOVEMBER, 1896

NUMBER 5

ISLAM: A SKETCH WITH BIBLIOGRAPHY.

By Rev. T. WITTON DAVIES, B.A., M.R.A.S., F.A. Inst.,
Principal Midland Baptist College, Nottingham, England.

Introduction: name and number of adherents.—Preparations: degeneracy of native religion; of Jews and Christians;—The Haneefs.—Beginnings. Muhammed and the Haneefs;—the Quran;—The five Pillars of Islam.—History: the Caliphate;—Shiites and Sunnites;—Sects.—The New Islam.—Missions to Islam.—Bibliography.

ACCORDING to Mr. W. H. Abdullah Quilliam¹ there are in the world no fewer than 240 million adherents of the Muhammedan² faith. A religion with such an immense following deserves and demands careful attention, especially from those who are interested in the grand enterprise of Christian missions abroad.

The members of this community call themselves "Muslims," and their religion "Islam." The first is the active participle, fourth form (=Heb. Hiphil) of the Arabic verb *salima*, "to be safe:" in this form "to deliver up," "to resign." So a "Muslim" is one who submits to the divine will. "Islam" is the infinitive or noun of action belonging to this form, and its meaning is "submission" or "resignation;" a suitable designation when one remembers the place held by divine sovereignty

¹ *Faith of Islam*, p. 14.

² This spelling is most in accordance with the Arabic.

among this people. They themselves refuse to be called after Muhammed, because, they hold, Abraham, Moses, Elijah, and even Jesus, were believers in this same religion.

Muhammed did not invent in their special sense the words "Muslim" or "Islam." He found ready to hand, alike the words and the main ideas associated with them.

THE PREPARATION.

In Mekka and in Medina, just before the prophet came to the fore, there were earnest bands of men known as Haneefs; a word etymologically meaning "inclined," and capable of having a bad sense—as in Hebrew—or a good one, which it invariably has in the Quran, where it stands for the faithful. I think it is Sprenger who compares these earnest inquirers after truth and righteousness with the Oxford Methodists of the last century. It is to them that Muhammed owed his first religious awakening and the central thoughts and fervor of his earliest theology.

The primitive religion of Arabia was monotheism of a very simple kind. This degenerated in course of time to Sabianism (from *Tsabha*, heavenly host, same root as in Sabaoth), or the worship of sun, moon, and stars, as representing the one God believed in.

Towards the end of the sixth century of our era the indigent Arabs who had not embraced Judaism or Christianity worshiped many gods: their Sabianism, however monotheistic at the outset, could hardly issue in anything else. In the Qaaba or sanctuary of Mekka there were over three hundred images of gods. But at the head of these deities was Allah, *the* God, who had his wife Allat, just as other Semitic gods (*cf.* Baal and Ashtoreth) had their wives.

But there was very little genuine faith in Allah or Allat or their numerous subordinates; nor was there much moral earnestness of any kind: faith and morals were dying out, and the gods were used to point jokes just as when among the Greeks and Romans a similar temper prevailed.

There were Jews; but they made more of their Targums than of their Bible, and more of their Talmuds than of either.

According to Muslim accounts, these Jews considered Ezra the full equal of Allah, and no man could think except as he was directed. The Rabbi was as final and beyond appeal in his teaching as is the Pope to the orthodox Roman Catholic today.

The Jew was then, as in some countries he is today, too clever by half; and the dreamy, sensuous Arab was no match in business for his shrewd and diligent kinsman. Often the Jew was more than clever, he was far-reaching and dishonest; not more so than the Arab; nor is he today more so than the Russian or German of these latter enlightened times. But then he was sharper.

Add to the foregoing that the Jew was intensely narrow and bigoted. Jehovah was *his* God and everybody's else enemy. And when the Jew had power—as in the case of Nagush, king of Yemen—he could do his full share of persecution—he *could*, and more, he *did*.

Christianity in those days cut a sorry figure among the Arabs. Ever since Constantine embraced the Christian faith the world had entered into the church with a vengeance. Previously, as some writer has it, the chapels were wooden and the churches golden. Now the chapels had become golden, but, alas! the churches had become wooden. Immorality followed in the wake of luxury. The priests lived for what they could get, and, indeed, took more than they had a right to. They were debauched as well, and then, as always, it was like minister, like people.

Then what deplorable errors, and yet more deplorable dissensions, had crept into the church! Saints and images took the place of God: Mary the Virgin was raised to the level of a goddess; Allah and Mary were likened to Osiris and Isis; and Christ the Child was looked upon, by outsiders, at least, as answering to Horus. The Madonna with Child has indeed been alleged to be only the counterpart of Horus on the lap of Isis, as these last may be seen among the Egyptian antiquities of all our museums.

The church was all sixes and sevens as to the difference between tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee, and the alteration of the diphthong of a word was made to land the evildoer in everlast-

ing flame. These Christians cared immeasurably more about hair-splitting definitions than about showing in their conduct the love and goodness of Jesus Christ.

The Haneefs sincerely longed for a truer and better faith than they saw around them, and they endeavored to find it. Monotheism was made the basis of their faith. Jewish rabbinism and Christian tri-theism—into which the Trinity had been reduced—they equally rejected. They were largely influenced by the Essenes, the Christian Sabians (from *Tsabl'ang*, "to baptize"), and by the Anchorites. They had also, probably, learned something from the Magi of Persia, many of whom were earnest mystics.

The religion of these Haneefs was a very simple one; indeed they hardly had a theology at all. They worshiped Allah and no other, and their monotheism was perhaps more absolute and uncompromising than even Muhammed's, for the prophet reduced the subordinates of Allah to Jinns, who had special powers and prerogatives. These reformers were upright, earnest, unworldly, and much of their time was spent in prayer and contemplation.

In this movement we have the beginnings of Muhammedism—indeed almost all that was good in it can be traced in Haneefism. But a man of fervor and of force was needed to unite, inform, and inspire the new movement, just as Wesley was needed to make Oxford Methodism a permanent and vigorous institution. Muhammed was just the man that the place and the hour called for.

THE BEGINNINGS.

Waraqa was a leading Haneef, and as he was a relation of Khadijah, Muhammed's wife, the prophet became very intimate with him, and from him learned the essential principles of these Arabian Methodists. Muhammed joined the Haneefs, and threw himself heart and soul into their affairs. He was as religious, as mystic, as contemplative as any one of them, but he was more vehement and more passionate. He has been said by different authorities to have been epileptic, cataleptic, or hysterical. His feelings were, in any case, easily moved. When highly excited

he imagined he saw visions in which Allah spoke to him. His wife Khadijah, Ali his nephew, and others, took the same view of these visions; and the number who believed Muhammed the subject of divine revelation gradually increased.

It is agreed that at first the prophet was sincere. He believed that in these ecstasies of his God did verily speak to him.

Waraqah was originally a Jew, and from him Muhammed learned most of what he knew of the Old Testament.

Through his personal and commercial intercourse with Christians he had acquired considerable knowledge of the New Testament. But his knowledge of both was extremely and, at times, ridiculously inexact, as even a careless reading of the Quran will show.

It is impossible in this short outline to follow into detail the life and religious development of Muhammed. In a short time he tacked onto the basal truth of Haneefism—monotheism—the dogma, “that Muhammed is the prophet of Allah.” One is often told that the creed of Islam is extremely simple, as comprehending but two principles—“one God;” “Muhammed his prophet.” True, but this last includes the teaching of the prophet; a belief in the infallibility, if not the eternity, of the Quran, with all its puerilities and even contradictions. Of course the contradictions of the book are explained by saying that later revelations canceled preceding ones. Whatever new article of faith or rule of conduct the prophet wished to adopt, there was at once a fresh division, and the desired course was sanctioned. It is possible that in all this seesaw business Muhammed was sincere. Human nature has, as human beings can tell, wonderful capabilities. But it is not easy to believe that the wild, often incoherent and inconsistent, utterances of the Quran, the gross ignorance it shows of Bible history, its constant repetitions—it is not easy to believe that all these are the product of divine or even of a very superior human wisdom.

The style of the Quran has been praised. It is certainly pure in its diction; there are very few loan words such as one meets in the *Thousand and One Nights*. It is charged with intense passion in most of its parts, and there is in an unusual degree

that swinging rhythm which is so native to the Arabic. But in Arabic or in English it makes very dull reading, and it has little interest except to the student of the history of religion. No one who has been a student both of the Hebrew Old Testament and of the Arabic Quran can fail to be struck with the immeasurable inferiority of the latter. To believe Muhammed to be the prophet of Allah is to accept this book as one divinely dictated; it is to impeach God's common sense, if that phrase can be so used.

The five pillars or foundations of Islam are said to be these:

1. Reciting Kalimet or confession, "There is no God but Allah, and Muhammed is the prophet of Allah."
2. Prayer five times a day.
3. Almsgiving.
4. Fast of Rammadan.
5. Pilgrimage to Mekka.

Then, to be a good Muslim, you must say *Yes* to the prophet's endorsement of slavery, of polygamy, of easy divorce, of the use of the sword in defense of the faith, of love indeed to brother Muslims, but of death-hate to others. To be of the Muhammedan religion, even in its founder's life time, meant the swallowing of a goodly sized creed.

HISTORY.

Up to the time of Muhammed's death there was no formal division in Islam, nor was there for some years after. The first important dissension arose in connection with the succession to the Caliphate. Ali, son-in-law and nephew of the prophet, was passed by in favor of Abu Beker, Omar, and Othman; but at length he became Caliph. He was, however, soon assassinated, as were his sons Hassan and Hussain. Then there reigned, for seven hundred years or more, the Ommayyads and Abbasids. The supporters of Ali's claims formed the Shiite (from *Shia*, "a party") sect, which remains up to this present time. Besides regarding the first three Caliphs as impostors and making Ali, some say, the equal of Allah, they reject the enormous traditions which the rival sect has accumulated. They are in this respect

to be compared with the Qaraite Jews (from Hebrew *Qara*, "to read"), who keep to the letter of Scripture, refusing to recognize the validity, or claims of the Talmuds or Midrashes. The Persians and many of the Tartar and Indian Muslims are Shiites.

The Sunnites (from *Sunnat*, "a way of life," "right way") are found mainly in Egypt, Arabia, Turkey and in India.¹

Under the Abbasid Caliphs, these Sunnites branched off into four sects, all of which are found at the present day. These are not always and necessarily hostile. Often members of all the sects will meet and worship in the same mosks, especially in Morocco. Yet, far more than is the case between the Askenazim and Sephardim Jews, there are considerable differences and bitterness of feeling between these factions.

The sects referred to are these:

1. The *Haneefites*. These have an affinity with the Shiites in allowing more freedom of thought, and in attaching less importance to traditions than their rivals. The few Muhammedans in England—Liverpool, etc.—belong to the Haneefites; and, judging from Syed Ameer Ali's book, they prevail in India.

2. The *Shafites* are confined to Arabia and a portion of southern India.

3. The *Malikites* are found in Barbary and in some other parts of Africa, and they are characterized by their literal interpretation of the Quran.

4. The *Hanbalites* believed the Quran to be eternal, everlasting, and unchangeable; they are strict in their orthodoxy and in their austerity of life. You will find Hanbalites in South Arabia. Wahabeeism² is an offshoot of this sect, though it has spread likewise to India.

A NEW DEVELOPMENT.

It would be unfair to close this rapid sketch without alluding to what has been called "New Islam," the supporters of which

¹ Sir W. W. Hunter says that nine-tenths of the Indian Muslims are Sunnites or, as he spells the word, Sunnes. *Vide The Indian Musulmans*, p. 117.

² Sir W. W. Hunter describes the Wahabees as an "advanced division of the Sunnis—the Puritans of Islam." *The Indian Musulmans*, p. 53.

belong almost wholly to India. They reject the views commonly held by Muslims, and may be described as Muhammedan rationalists. They maintain that the Muslim of the nineteenth century was never intended to be ruled by the Muslim of the ninth century. The Quran was the standard of thought and life for its own age only. Muslim civilization and philosophy have stagnated just because the true function of the Quran was misconceived. Neither its legal precepts nor its ethics were intended to be final.

To understand the origin of this movement, remember that it arose in India where the influence of the missionary, of the British ruler, and of the universities is greatly felt. The educated Indian Muslim sees plainly enough that orthodox Islamism can never stand before the light of the new knowledge. Where the Quran is made a final code of ethics, of legislation, of religion, true progress is impossible; and the actual history of Muslim peoples bears out this statement.

"New Islam" is said by its promoters to be a mere going back to the teaching of Muhammed and of his first followers. In the preface to his *Life and Teaching of Muhammed*, Syed Ameer Ali describes his book, which is the ablest literary product of this school, as an "exposition of the spirit of Islam as it was understood by the immediate descendants of the Teacher" [the capital T is the author's].

I have been told by my friend, Mr. Quilliam, editor of *Islamic World* and *The Crescent*, that *New Islamism* is finding general sympathy among Muslims. It is impossible not to be reminded of a similar trend of thought among Jews (*e. g.*, Reformed Judaism) and among Christians.

In Islam the church and the state are but one institution differently regarded. Muhammed and his Caliphs, down to the present Sultan of Turkey, have been civil rulers and religious heads: chief in church and in state. Islam, when and where in power, knows nothing of a condition of things in which equal freedom is allowed to all religions. In the beginning, especially, Muhammedanism was more political than religious. It was love of conquest, of gain, of fighting for fighting's sake,

that prompted the first warriors of Islam; and the same has been ever after true, as far as practicable. I have myself, when traveling in Palestine off the beaten tracks, come across Arabs who knew the least imaginable about Muslim or any other religion; yet they well understood their political relationship to other Muslims and to the Turkish state.

I will close this very fragmentary article by urging upon intending missionaries to Muslim peoples the importance of a thorough acquaintance with the history and principles of this great religion. Especially should they understand the exact views of those among whom they are to labor. And, instead of attacking Islam wholly and unqualifiedly, is it not a more excellent way frankly to acknowledge the good that there is in Muhammed and his religion? Besides the fact that this is manly, fair, and Christlike, it would issue in greater and better results than past labors among Muslims can show. Let it be ungrudgingly admitted that some reform was needed when Muhammed appeared, and a thousand times better than the Judaism or Christianity of his day and of his country was the faith he promulgated.

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2. *The Caliphate: Its Rise, Decline, and Fall*. Same author and publisher. Price 9s.

3. *Life of Muhammed*. By A. Sprenger, M.D. Allahabad, 1851. My copy cost 5s., secondhand, in Leipsic. A valuable book, though smaller and less satisfactory than the German work to be named afterwards.

4. *Islam*. By Stobart.

5. *Islam as a Missionary Religion*. By Haines. Both these last, published by S.P.C.K. at 2s. 6d., belong to the "Non-Christian Religious Systems" series.

6. *Natural History of Islam*. By Dr. J. M. Arnold. 1859. 8vo, pp. 524. Contains a mass of useful information, but the writer plays too much the rôle of advocate.

7. *Studies in Mohammedanism*. By J. L. Pool. 1892. Price 5s. net (contains good general account).

8. *Life of Mohammed*. By Syed Ameer Ali. Williams & Norgate. 1873. 12mo, pp. 346. (The new work by this author is much larger and fuller.)

9. *Faith of Islam*. By W. H. Quilliam. Price 6d.

10. *The Religion of the Sword*. Same author. Vol. I., price 2s. 6d., only out as yet. Both these works to be had from the Crescent Printing Company, Liverpool. I recommend the last three as giving in English the views of Muslims about their own faith. They say all the good there can be said without touching on the bad; especially is Mr. Quilliam guilty of this.

The following articles are strongly recommended:

"Mohammedanism" in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, ninth edition: articles by Professors Wellhausen, Stanislaus-Guyard, and Nöldeke. That by the last writer is on the Quran, and has been reproduced, with some changes, in his *Sketches of Eastern History*. (A. & C. Black. 10s. 6d.).

Deutsch's *Literary Remains*, Article II, "Islam."

Dr. Marcus Dod's *Mohammed, Buddha, and Christ*. A very lucid and fair book. Price 3s. 6d.

Sale's *Introduction to the Quran*, mostly got from Maracci's larger work, must be read and studied. But I prefer Rodwell's version to any other. Professor Palmer's is readable, but it is not close enough to the original, and I have found whole clauses missing.

THE REV. PROFESSOR STEWART D. F. SALMOND, D.D.,
FREE CHURCH COLLEGE, ABERDEEN.

By the REV. PROFESSOR ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCE,
Free Church College, Glasgow.

THE subject of this sketch is a native of Aberdeen. He received his early education in the grammar school there under the famous Rector Melvin and Mr. Geddes (now Principal Sir William Geddes, of Aberdeen University), and took his arts course in the university of his native city. He studied theology first in the Free Church College in Aberdeen, then in Germany, chiefly at Erlangen, under such well-known teachers as Delitzsch, von Hofmann, and Thomasius. While studying theology he acted for three years as assistant professor of Greek in the University of Aberdeen; he held for a similar period the post of examiner in classics for the same university. He became in 1865 the minister of the Free Church in Barry, Forfarshire, a parish which stretches along the shore of the German Ocean just where the River Tay pours its waters into it. He was a diligent pastor, but also a hard student, and a frequent contributor to the various theological magazines, during the Barry period, in which time also he executed several important translations for the Ante-Nicene Library. In 1870 he offered himself as a candidate for the chair of Hebrew in the Free Church College, Aberdeen, he and the famous William Robertson Smith being the two men in the run, Smith being the successful candidate. At length his professorial ambition was crowned with success by his appointment in 1876 to the chair of systematic theology in the Aberdeen Free College, which he still occupies.

Dr. Salmond is before all things a *scholar*, with a scholar's instincts, training, and habits; fond of research, devoted to books, given to authorship and editorship, and careful and accu-

rate in all literary work. His admirers might not claim for him that he is in speech or written style a magnetic personality, but they may confidently affirm that he is entitled to and always actually commands respect and implicit confidence, as one who knows thoroughly well what he is talking about. He is a genius, if there be truth in Carlyle's definition of genius as consisting in the art of *taking pains*.

Among the larger contributions made by Dr. Salmond to theological literature may be mentioned his commentary on 1 and 2 Peter in Schaff's *Popular Commentary*. But his most important work is that which was published last year on *The Christian Doctrine of Immortality*. The basis, or nucleus, of this valuable treatise was a series of lectures delivered some years ago on the "Cunningham Foundation," being the thirteenth course since the establishment of this lectureship in honor of the first principal of the New College, Edinburgh. With few exceptions the literary products of this foundation have not been signally successful. Dr. Salmond's book is one of the exceptions, as will be seen when it is mentioned that though scarcely a year has passed since it was published it is about to go into a second edition, notwithstanding that it is a large and costly work of nearly 700 pages. Its success is due partly to the interest felt by many in its solemn theme, but largely to this, that readers find in it a competent and weighty utterance on that theme. It is undoubtedly an important contribution to the literature of its subject, which will certainly take a prominent place as a standard theological treatise. Though forbiddingly large it is by no means a heavy book to read. The style is simple, direct, to the point, and the matter invariably interesting. Besides being interesting it is weighty, because it is obviously the ripe result of much patient research and hard thinking carried on from the time of the preparation of the Cunningham lectures till the date of publication. The work has both historical and exegetical interest. The comparative method of handling the theme is employed, which gives scope for an account of the thoughts on the life beyond entertained by the leading peoples of antiquity. Perhaps the most



STEWART D. F. SALMOND

valuable portion of the book is the exposition of our Lord's teaching on the subject. The conclusions come to on this vital topic may disappoint those who cherish and advocate the larger hope, but no one can complain of the tone in which the discussion is conducted, which is at once reverent, considerate, and temperate. In his theological attitude Dr. Salmond is on the whole more conservative than many of his Scottish contemporaries and comrades, but he knows nothing of the bigotry and intolerance of conservatism, or of the *odium theologicum*. His temper is calm and passionless, and his habit of mind scientific rather than dogmatic. Men of all schools, new and old, may read his work on immortality without fear of offense, and with good hope of theological instruction and spiritual benefit.

Besides writing this one great book Dr. Salmond has published from time to time some useful little books meant for the instruction of young people in the principles of religion. They form part of a series of publications issued by the Welfare of Youth and Guild committees of the Free Church with which he has been long and prominently associated. The books are called *Primers*. Those of Dr. Salmond are on *The Life of the Apostle Peter*, *The Life of Christ*, *The Shorter Catechism*, *The Sabbath*, *The Parables of Our Lord*. A Christian scholar will not regret the time he has spent in preparing elementary treatises on such themes.

Dr. Salmond has been prominent not only as an author, but also as an *editor*. He has acted as an editor in three different connections: (1) In the preparation of the above mentioned series of *Primers*; (2) in connection with the *International Theological Library*, published by Messrs. Clark, of Edinburgh, and Messrs. Scribner's Sons, New York (Professor Briggs, of Union Theological Seminary, being associated with Dr. Salmond in the work of editorship); and (3) in connection with the now well-known and highly valued *Critical Review*. This quarterly magazine devoted to the careful reviewing of theological literature is Professor Salmond's own child. He projected it, started it, worked it up, till now it is established as an organ of intelligent and trustworthy opinion on the worth of the contributions

to theological literature which make their appearance from time to time. It deserves the support of all professional theologians and of all theological seminaries. There is nothing better of its kind known to me.

Dr. Salmond is a *man of affairs* as well as a man of letters. It would be difficult to say which is the stronger, the passion for business or the passion for study. School boards of presbyterial meetings have taken up much of his time and attention during the years of his professorate, time which some might be inclined to think might easily have been better spent. The combination exhibited in his character and career is neither common nor easy. The ecclesiastic often kills the scholar, and the scholar the ecclesiastic. Many of our best-known students are hardly ever seen in church courts, and some of our most conspicuous ecclesiastics have belied the promise of fruitful authorship given in their early years. Salmond is an exception. He likes his study and he likes his presbytery, and is a leader there. This versatility is interesting and creditable. It is advantageous to health and the fulness of life. One cannot study all the day long, and the best recreation, or at least the only one available for some, is change of work. The clergyman who is a hard student finds relief from mental weariness in a couple of hours spent in pastoral visits among his people, and is in the mood to discover human interest in very commonplace people. Even so the scholar, after working some five or six hours among his books, can bring into play a different set of mental powers among his fellow presbyters, and find both recreation and amusement in the most humdrum presbyterial procedure. Nothing is more dreary than church courts, if what goes on there forms the staple of one's existence. I would not for anything be a presbytery clerk, though some good men I know occupy the dismal post. But it is quite a different affair if you use your presbytery as you use a novel, simply as the means of unbending the mental bow. I owe an apology to my ecclesiastical superior for so disrespectful a suggestion, but I mean no disrespect. I acknowledge that presbyteries have higher, nobler uses than to serve as an

amusement to an overworked brain. I am sure Dr. Salmond does not look on them in any such low light. He regards them as opportunities of usefulness, and with commendable public spirit takes advantage of them as such. And that he has done good service in an ecclesiastical capacity all who know him will readily own.

To live, move, and have one's being wholly in ecclesiasticism were not merely to lose time but almost one's soul. There is no fear of Salmond committing this sin. His passion for study and for authorship is too intense. More good books may be expected from him, probably ere long one in connection with both the international series now in course of publication. He will make his mark both in New Testament exegesis and in New Testament theology. And he may be trusted to work in these departments along the lines of modern biblical criticism and historical interpretation. He is not so decidedly modern in his type as Professor Briggs, with whom he is associated in editorial work. Perhaps one should rather say he is a man with a more cautious nature, with less self-consciousness and more scientific objectivity than his brother editor. Their critical views are probably much the same, but there is no chance of the Aberdonian divine ever figuring as the hero of a heresy hunt. He may say the same things about inerrancy and such like topics, and people will assume that it is all right. This may be a defect as well as a merit in his character. Whether defect or merit it is a fact. Salmond is orthodox in temper and in reputation, and he may help to gain currency for views which when uttered by other men raise a hue and cry.

The four men whom I have most imperfectly placed before readers of the *BIBLICAL WORLD* in these brief sketches are men of whom the Free Church, not to say Scotland, has reason to be proud. They do credit to their denomination and to their country. They are entirely different from one another in physical and in mental characteristics. No one could mistake the one for the other in face, in figure, in manner, or in intel-

lectual idiosyncrasy; and of course varying estimates might be formed of their comparative worth by different men. But no one would ever think of undervaluing any one of them, or of grudging them a place among Scotland's superior personalities. I feel an honest satisfaction in being privileged to introduce them to the more intimate acquaintance of American brethren. I have endeavored to do so in a spirit of sincerity, not indulging in indiscriminate laudation, but I hope also abstaining from ungenerous criticism. I know them all four well, and I can honestly say that they are capable men, hard workers, and right good fellows, every one of them.

IS THE MODERN CRITICAL THEORY OF THE SERVANT IN ISAIAH 52:13—53 SUBVERSIVE OF ITS NEW TESTAMENT APPLICATION TO CHRIST?

By the REV. PROFESSOR SAMUEL IVES CURTISS, Ph.D., D.D.,
Chicago Theological Seminary.

Erroneous Messianic interpretation of Old Testament;—the usual Christian view.—Modern critical view of Isa. 40–66;—Product of exilic writers;—Isa. 52:13–53 an idealization of the past and the future;—a picture of the martyr congregation, finding its fullest realization in Christ.

IN the discussion of this subject we must understand the difference between the use of Old Testament Scripture in the time of Christ and its use according to the principles of scientific exegesis. Both Jews and Christians used the Old Testament in a way we would not use it now. Both Jews and Christians reckoned passages as Messianic which cannot pass the test of criticism as such.¹

No Christian scholar can doubt that Christ is the haven of Old Testament prophecy and history. He was the port to which the Old Testament church was sailing. The Old Testament is to a certain extent the logbook, which indicates a devious course and many tempestuous seas in Israel's religious history. The Old Testament testifies of Christ in its underlying purpose. It was a new world which lay before Old Testament priest, prophet and lawgiver, as new as that which greeted

¹For examples of passages which Jews erroneously reckoned as Messianic see Buxtorfii Lexicon Chaldaicum Talmudicum et Rabbinicum, Basilæ 1640, Col. 1268–1273, Gen. 35:21; 49:1; Ex. 12:42; 40:9; Num. 23:21; Deut. 25:19; Cant. 8:1, 2, 4; Ruth 1:1; Eccles. 1:11. The comment on the last passage: "Cum generationibus quæ erunt in diebus regis Messiaë" shows how the Rabbis construed such passages as Messianic. Not less fanciful in Christian interpretation, Justin Martyr reckons Gen. 49:11 as a direct prediction that Jesus should ride on an ass' colt; he claims that the rods placed by Jacob in the water-troughs are types of the wood of the cross, that the hands of Moses stretched out during the battle with Amalek signified the cross. In Psalm 22:12 he says the Pharisees are the bulls.

the eyes of Columbus. The purpose of the Old Testament worthies in their quest and their view of what they should find was as inadequate as the hope of that early voyager to find a new way to the East Indies. A false exegesis of such a passage as the words of Christ, "Abraham rejoiced to see my day; and he saw it, and was glad" (John 8: 56), has led multitudes to speculate on the wonderful views that Abraham, Moses, David, Isaiah, and others had of Christ. Of the existence of such views there is no evidence. Isaiah's conception of the child that was to be born, of the son that was to be given, was of one who was to see the light in his own day, and who was to deliver from the Assyrian oppression (*cf.* Isa. 9: 4 with Mic. 5: 4-6).

It was natural when Christ opened the eyes of the disciples to the Old Testament as full of his Messiahship (Luke 24: 27) that their attention should be more fully directed to these superficial features in the Old Testament. Trained in the Jewish use of Scripture it was next to impossible for them to free themselves from a Jewish interpretation of passages regarding the Messiah. Writing for Jewish Christians it was needful that they should employ a line of argument that should approve itself to them. So it was natural enough that the author of Matthew's gospel reading Hosea's reference to Israelitish history: "When Israel was a child then I loved him and called my son out of Egypt" (Hosea 11:1), should find in it a prediction of the return of Jesus from Egypt (Matt. 2: 15) and meditating on the fact that Christ was born in Nazareth should by false etymology, perhaps, find some connection between Isaiah's use of the word *nētzēz* for sprout (11:1) and Nazarene and so should quote a prophecy which we nowhere find: "And [he] came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets that he should be called a Nazarene" (Matt. 2:23): or that through a lapse of memory, unless we have a clerical error, as Toy suggests, should see in the purchase of the potter's field a fulfilment of a prophetic utterance which he attributes to Jeremiah (Matt. 27:9), but which rather belongs to Zechariah (11:13). Thus mere verbal coincidences between words in the Old Testament and words or

acts in the New were considered as prediction and fulfilment, although the word prediction is never used in our English Bible.

There are, however, other passages which seem to be exact photographs of Christ's sufferings on the cross and which may be directly applied to him with less violence to the context than in the passages indicated. This is notably the case in Psalm 22:6-18 and the section we have under consideration. The correspondence is so close that it is difficult for the ordinary Christian reader to escape the conclusion that the details of Christ's sufferings and death are explicitly foretold. There is no portion of the Old Testament which contains more of the heart of the gospel than the one before us. Written, as it were, under the shadow of the cross it has a hold on our reverent affection which we can assign to nothing else in the Old Testament. The old school of exegetes consider it a direct prophecy of the sufferings and exaltation of Jesus Christ, as an illustration of one of those Scriptures whose significance, as Peter says, the prophets sought to fathom (1 Peter 1:10-12). This theory, however, of a direct and primary prediction of the sufferings of Christ is contrary to the modern view of the Old Testament which regards it as part of a book, recording the instruction and experience of the Hebrew people. When Moses and his successors legislated it was primarily for a contemporary people; when David and the Psalmist sung, they first sang out of their own experience and that of their contemporaries; when Amos and Isaiah prophesied, it was to the men of their own time, not to some far-away congregation, just as Christ certainly spoke to his disciples, and Paul and John to particular churches. We have sometimes seemed to think (with reverence be it spoken) that God had to be tied up to a Moses, a David and Isaiah, as if he could not find other instruments as fit through whom to reveal his will. It is true that David and the psalmists, singing out of human experience, sang for all time, because human experience is fundamentally the same in all ages. They, as well as the prophets, present ideals, portraits which were never realized until Christ came. Hanging in the

Old Testament gallery, New Testament children in knowledge give the testimonial to their accuracy and their divine authorship when they say: "It is the Christ." Such a result does not come from natural development. God is in it. These idealized characters are proofs that the "True Light" which lighteth every man was coming into the world" (John 1a, R. V. Marg.). Israel was seeking a deliverer, a Messiah, and God was constantly clarifying, enlarging, and idealizing their conception. A historical and critical study of the Old Testament may destroy, or may confirm, the startling coincidences between Old Testament and New Testament Scriptures, but it cannot fail to show that God is in the entire Old Testament preparing the way for the coming of his Son. This view is far better for the Christian scholarship of the nineteenth century than the more childlike representation of Messianic prophecy among Jews and Christians down to the present century.

According to the modern critical view Isa. 52:13-53 is the consummation of the teaching in Second Isaiah regarding the Servant of Jehovah. This is a constituent part of a book by one or more authors who began to write for the Babylonian exiles as early as 546 or 540 B. C. and, in case of a manifold authorship toward which some critics are now tending, was not finished before the time of Ezra or even later. Isaiah, then, is not regarded in this prophecy as being transported by the spirit to a congregation 150 years away, when God might find a prophet or prophets laboring among them to utter his message. The situation is just as historical as when Paul writes to the Corinthians. Second Isaiah just as truly has a motive as the epistle to the Corinthians. Even those critics who consider the book a symposium find in it substantial unity of plan and purpose. It is largely addressed to exiles in Babylon. It is designed to comfort them and prepare them for their return and to set before them their divine mission. It is written with celestial eloquence. Earth and heaven mingle in such a way as to make many Christians literalist interpreters feel that, as the things described are predictions which have never been fulfilled, therefore they wait fulfilment. On the other hand some, like Kuenen, see in them

the evidence that there is no supernatural prediction, as that term is commonly understood, for after all these magnificent prophecies the reality was sufficiently poor and mean to show that the prophet had moved in the sphere of ideality. He had thrilled and stimulated the people by great expectations. Winged and thinking to reach the sun, they found themselves fallen bruised and almost dead on the earth. But we shall see that the human and divine meet in these prophecies, the real and the ideal, the present and the remote, the servant and the Christ, the Jew and the Babylonian exile, and perhaps the Jew of the time yet to come, who shall mourn his blindness and rejection of the Servant for centuries (Zech. 12:10). It is actual history with which we have to do. The flower of the southern kingdom has been in exile for years. Some have prospered and are as much attached to Babylonia as their ancestors were to the leeks and onions of ancient Egypt. They are the worldly liberal party (46:8, 2; 48:22). They desire no better country than the rich, alluvial plains between the Tigris and the Euphrates. We may believe that they treated the proposition to return to Jerusalem with arrogance and contempt (51:7, *cf.* 66:5, which George Adam Smith, Cheyne, and Duhm place after the return). But among them are true Israelites who have never ceased to mourn for Jerusalem and to miss the temple (63:18; 66:10). They have been diligent students of their ancient Scriptures. They have watched and waited for the fulfilment of the promise of their return, until the days seemed long and the nights comfortless and they have lifted the despairing cry: "The Lord hath forgotten me" (49:14). His answer comes through the prophet: "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people" (40:1), "Why, sayest thou, O Jacob, and speakest, O Israel, my way is hid from the Lord, and my judgment is passed over from my God?" (40:27). He gives them the assurance of safe convoy to their own land (vss. 3-11).

What, may we suppose, was the ideal of these Jews who wished to return? We may believe, as far as we have any light regarding the period, that it was to restore their state and their worship on the old foundations. All their misfortunes were

attributed by their prophetic writers to their disobedience of God; in their idolatry, in their formalism, and later in their neglect of the right forms of worship. Preparations must have been made for the reorganization of the state. Failure had come from disobedience of the divine Tora, Mosaic and prophetic. The result, as we may believe, was a tremendous literary activity during the exile in Babylon. Priests and Levites had become scribes. The Mosaic laws, written and traditional, all that was believed to represent the earliest as well as the latest usage, were carefully gathered and collated, the history of Israel based on documentary sources was rewritten, as seen from the standpoint particularly of the Deuteronomist, with a religious end in view; prophetic books were also gathered; collections of hymns were doubtless in process of being formed. The ideal of the Jewish people who were ready to return to their own land was a state of which Jerusalem should be the capital, where the temple should be set up, where the legitimate worship should be restored, and where descendants of David, or a second David, should reign (Jer. 23:5; 33:17; Ezek. 34:23-25). The people were to live in themselves and for themselves, although strangers among them were to be treated as the home-born. God's idea as made known through Second Isaiah is infinitely larger, but it joins on to previous teaching, experience, and revelation; and in this way grows up the doctrine of the servant. All Israel by virtue of being the seed of Abraham, God's elect and God's lover (Isa. 41:8), is his servant, not because all are really so, but because the prophet is dealing with generalities and these the people can best understand. No reflecting Israelite in the exile would deny that Israel, above all other nations, was favored as God's body servant, hence was in close, intimate relations, and had nothing to fear (43:1; 44:2). Others might tremble at the progress of the dread conqueror Cyrus (41:5), also called God's servant, but his favorite servant, Israel, need not tremble, need not look about as if there were no helper (vs. 10). Hence this relationship meant protection, meant favor, meant a sure return to their own land. This was a message that would receive general assent.

But when the servant was settled in his own land, then what? Was his life simply to be self-centered, cut off from other nations? No. He was not merely to restore the lost tribes of Israel, but he was to be God's missionary to the ends of the earth, that the Gentiles might share in the blessings promised to Israel (49:5-6). Not all Israel are capable of this mission when the prophet regards them. The servant labors for Israel, the part labor for the whole, the reformers, the spiritually-minded, labor for the cold, dead church. Thus the idea of the servant is limited to the pious in Israel (42:1-4; 49:1-6; 4-9). But the servant of Jehovah as set forth in 52:13, and 53 is not a new invention, though he receives a new name. He has long existed in Israelitish history down to the time of the prophet. No individual floats before the mind of the prophet, but the whole succession of martyr prophets and confessors, past and future, become in his mind a compound picture of one person, although idealized and heightened above any actual experience by the divine Spirit. In this respect in second Isaiah's prophecy, as in all other prophecies, the ideal is far beyond the actual.

The subject is the servant; the events narrated are viewed as already past, but they are indissolubly mingled with predictions of the future; there are two distinct classes, the Gentiles in the last part of the fifty-second chapter and the Jews in the fifty-third. The Gentiles are amazed at the exaltation of the servant. Because his appearance was such that they had no suspicion of his real character. They are startled and shut their mouths at him in surprise. Nevertheless when they hear they accept. The scene changes: it, as well as the person, is ideal. The prophet listens to the penitent musings of Israel over the treatment of the servant, who, as I have said, is thought by some critics to represent the personalized and idealized history of the martyr prophets. It is a time of national awakening to the true character and services of these men, as thus idealized in the experiences of one sufferer. With shame and repentance they give the reasons for their rejection: "Who believed our preaching?" they say, or that which was preached to us, for he did not appear

with any of the insignia of the divine favor. He was like a poor sickly sucker, parched by the sun, and having no moisture from the ground. He had not any of those manly elements which at once impress the people, for he was without any physical attractiveness. If he was conspicuous for anything, it was in his being sorrowful and sickly, so that all faces were averted from him, as if he had been a leper, and so in his being despised, and of no one at all pondering his true mission. We never dreamed that this poor wretch, from whom we turned away in disgust, was bearing our sicknesses and staggering under our pains; for always believing that a great sufferer must be a great sinner we thought God was visiting on him the punishment of his own sins; but now we see that he was run through on account of our transgressions, crushed on account of our sins, that the punishment that brought us peace was upon him, and that by his stripes we have been healed. Although like sheep we have all gone astray, each turning to his own way, the Lord caused to light on him the iniquity of us all. Smitten and afflicted he did not utter a murmur. He was like a poor helpless lamb brought unresistingly to the slaughter, and, like a ewe lying on the ground to be sheared, and not even bleating, so he did not open his mouth. So far from suffering for his own crimes, it was through an oppressive judgment that he was taken away, but we were so blinded that who of his contemporaries considered that he was cut off from the land of the living, that he was smitten for the transgression of my people? Even when dead he was treated like a criminal, for they buried him with the wicked and with those who deserved to suffer for their ill-gotten wealth,¹ although like these he had not been guilty of any violence or deception. While this was our treatment of him, it was in accordance with God's plan, he was pleased to crush him, to make him sick. All this the prophet sees as past, all these sufferings and this death he sees as vicarious, but we are transferred to the future. For in this idealized picture the past and the future are blended, the Great Sufferer of New Testament history, unrecognized by the prophet, colors the whole picture and makes it even in its Old

¹ The reading, as George Adam Smith remarks, is doubtful.

Testament setting a superhuman portrait of vicarious suffering and of victory. If we consider that we have here simply the idealized sufferings of the martyr congregation, then we may be tempted with Duhm to do violence to the text, but if this ideal servant, in accordance with the nature of other prophecies in Isaiah, looks forward into the distant future as well as backward, then we do not think of tautology when we read, "When his soul shall make a guilt-offering, he shall see a seed, he shall prolong his days, and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hands. Through the travail of his soul he shall see satisfyingly, by his knowledge shall the righteous one, my servant, justify many, because he shall bear their iniquities, therefore I will divide him a portion with the many, and with the strong he shall divide the spoil, because he poured out his life unto death, and was numbered with the transgressors and he bare the sins of many, and was making intercession for the transgressors."

The essential element in the modern critical theory of this passage, whether as referring to the martyr congregation, or to an idealized person, is of a picture which has its motive and coloring in the Old Testament. But critics like Dillmann, Cheyne, and Driver do not deny its New Testament application. Indeed, this cannot be denied, whatever may be our theory as to its origin, for we see that all that is said in this chapter fits Jesus Christ a great deal more closely than it does the martyr congregation in Babylon, or the succession of confessors among the prophets. The result is the same, although we get at it in a different way. The traditional theory considers it a direct portrait of Jesus Christ, a prediction that we may trace in the fulfilment almost word for word; the evangelical modern critical theory maintains that it is an Old Testament picture, which bears a startling likeness to Christ and finds its fullest realization in him. In one case we have prediction and fulfilment, in the other we have prefigurement² and fulfilment. Under either

² As has been remarked, our English Bible does not contain the word prediction, although it may be said to imply it. A study of the work and office of the prophet shows that he had a much larger function than foretelling future events. The term is well defined in the Century dictionary. The divine power which enabled the prophet

theory it is certain this chapter could not have been written if Christ had not been coming into the world. He and his kingdom are not merely foretold in certain passages, but he and his kingdom are the goal of Old Testament law, prophecy, and history. If we were to take everything that might come as literal prediction in the Old Testament, and seek for literal fulfilment in the New and in history, we should find many difficulties. We should have only a New Jerusalem painted in Jewish colors; but if we take not merely isolated passages, but the whole Old Testament, we shall find indeed—while the predictive element is not eliminated—that we shall not be driven to forced conceits, or to a Jewish millennium, in our anxiety to⁷ justify the details of the grand outlines and the splendid coloring of the Old Testament. The details are not the picture, the coloring is not the picture, although details and coloring make it. The image left on our mind is the picture. Ezekiel's temple was never built, nor need we expect it will be. The glorious predictions of Second Isaiah were never literally fulfilled, nor need we believe that they will be. They nerved the Babylonian exiles and guided their footsteps, like the star which the Magi saw in the East, to their holy city, and they still inspire God's people and will not cease to do so until their highest promises and brightest pictures have been exhausted in the glorious consummation which lies before them.

thus to prefigure the main elements in the sufferings, death, and exaltation of Jesus Christ is of the same sort as that which would enable him to predict the same things. Practically it is a different way of accounting for the same phenomenon, and a different term for the same thing, for such prefigurement is not the result of natural, but of supernatural, causes.

OUTLINE TOPICS IN THE HISTORY OF OLD TESTAMENT PROPHECY.

IX.

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PROPHECY OF THE BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY.

I. LITERARY SOURCES.

1. Contemporaneous Sources.

- 1) After 586 B.C. Jer. 40-44.
- 2) After 586 B.C. The original of Obadiah.¹
- 3) 585-573 B.C. Ezek. 33-48.²
- 4) 573 B.C. The Lamentations.³

¹ Hendewerk, *Obadie Prophetie Oraculum in Idumaos*; Jaeger, *Ueber das Zeitalter Obadjas*; Caspari, *Der Prophet Obadja ausgelegt*; Delitzsch, *Wann weissagte Obadja?* *ZLTh*, 1851, 91-102; Seydel, *Der Prophet Obadja*; Randolph, *Analytical Notes on Obadiah and Habakkuk*, 1-18; Perowne, *Obadiah and Jonah (Camb. Bible)*, 1-42; Weidner, *Studies in Obadiah*, *LChR*, 1887, Apr., 128-39, Oct., 325-32; Beecher, *Hist. Literature in Joel and Obadiah*, *JSBLE*, 1888, 14-40; Kuenen, *Onderzoek*², II., 363-9; Driver, *Introduction*², 297-300; Douglas, *The Six Intermediate Minor Prophets (Handbooks for Bible Classes)*, 1-24; Farrar, *The Minor Prophets*, 175-84.

² For Ezekiel, especially in relation to the Levitical code, cf. Curtiss, *The Levitical Priests*, 74-7; W. R. Smith, *The O. T. in the Jewish Church*, 374-8; Stebbins, *A Study of the Pent.*, 105-10; Gardner, *On Ezekiel in Relation to the Levitical Law*, *JSBLE*, 1881, 172-205; Kühn, *StKr*, 1882, 601-88; Green, *Moses and the Prophets*, 122-35; Mitchell, *Heb. Stud.*, Jan. and Feb., 1883, 159-60; Plumptre, *Exp.*, VIII., 1884, 419-30; Stebbins, *O. T. Stud.*, Apr., 1884, 289-95; Farrar, *Exp.*, IX., 1889, 1-15; Vogelstein, *Der Kampf zwischen Priestern und Leviten seit den Tagen Ezechiels*; Kuenen, *Abhandlungen*, 465-500; and ref. in *Syl. III.*, p. 6, n. 4.

³ Henderson, *Jeremiah and Lamentations*, 285-315; Gerlach, *Die Klagelieder Jeremia erklärt*; Nägelsbach, *The Lamentations of Jeremiah (Lange)*; Streane, *Jeremiah and Lamentations (Camb. Bible)*, 353-91; Budde, *Das hebräische Klagelied*, *ZAW*, II., 1-52; W. R. Smith, *Encyc. Brit.*, XIV., 241 ff.; R. P. Smith, *Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Lamentations (Bible Comm.)*, 577-606; Oettli, *Die poetischen Hagiographen (Strack und Zöckler)*, 199-224; Löhr, *Die Klagelieder des Jeremias*; Driver, *Introduction*², 428-36; Greenup, *A Short Comm. on the Book of Lamentations*; Budde, *ZAW*, XII., 261-75; Fries, *ZAW*, XIII., 110-24; Löhr, *ZAW*, XIV., 31-50, 51-9; Adeney, *The Song of*

- 5) 573 B.C. Completion of Book of Jeremiah.¹
- 6) 561 B.C. Completion of Deuteronomy in its present form.²
- 7) 561 B.C. Union of J, E, and Deuteronomy.³
- 8) 561 B.C. Final editing of Judges, Samuel, and Kings.⁴
- 9) 550 (?) B.C. Isaiah 40-62.⁵
- 10) 550 (?) B.C. Isaiah 13: 1-14: 23; 34; 35.
- 11) 540 (?) B.C. Isaiah 63-66.
- 12) 585-538 B.C. Psalms 22, 35 (?), 38, 40, 42, 43, 49, 69, 71, 84, 102, 109, 25, 34.⁶

2. Later Sources.

The second book of Chronicles.

3. Events from Monumental Sources.

- 1) 607-562 B.C. Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylonia.
- 2) 562-560. Evil Merodach, king of Babylonia.

Solomon and the Lamentations of Jeremiah (*Exp. Bible*), 61-346; and comms. on Jeremiah before cited.

¹ Movers, *De utriusque recens. vatic. Jeremiae Græc. Alex. et Masor. indole et origine*; Graf, *Der Prophet Jeremia erklärt*, XL. ff.; Hitzig, *Der Prophet Jeremia erklärt*, XV. ff.; Scholz, *Der Mass. Text und die LXX—Uebersetzung des Buches Jeremias*; Workman, *The Text of Jeremiah*; Kuenen, *Onderzoek*², II., 245-65; Driver, *Introduction*², 253 ff.; and comms. on Jeremiah before cited.

² W. R. Smith, *The O. T. in the Jewish Church*, 343-73; Kuenen, *The Hexateuch*, 262-71; Vernes, *Une nouvelle hypothèse sur la composition et l'origine du Deutéronome*; Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs*; Driver, *Introduction*², 77-91; Westphal, *Les sources du Pentateuque*, II.; Staerk, *Das Deuteronomium*, 94-110; Kuenen, *Abhandlungen*, 392-429; Driver, *Deuteronomy*, XXXIV-LXXVII.; Cornill, *The Prophets of Israel*, 80-90; and refs. in Syl. III., p. 5, n. 1.

³ Ewald, *Hist. of Israel*, I., 129-32; Dillman, *Die Bücher Numeri, Deuteronomium und Josuas* 591-690; Kuenen, *The Hexateuch*, 165-73; and refs. in preceding note.

⁴ Ewald, *Hist. of Israel*, I., 159-68; *Encyc. Brit.*, XIII., 773 f., XIV., 85-8, XXI., 265 f.; Bleek, *Einleitung*⁵, 171-204; Kuenen, *Onderzoek*², I., 429-33; Budde, *Die Bücher Richter und Samuel*, 158-66, 264-8; Kittel, *StAr*, 1892, 44 ff.; Kalkoff, *Zur Quellenkritik des Richterbuches*; Moore, *Judges*, XXXIII-XXXVII.

⁵ Plumptre, *Exp.*, V., 1883, 449-68; Davidson, *Exp.*, VI., 1883, VII., 1884, 81-103, 251-67, VIII., 1884, 250-69, 350-69, 430-51; Cornill, *Die Composition des Buches Jesaja*, ZAW, IV., 83-105; Stebbins, *JSBLE*, 1884, 65-79; and refs. in Syl. III., p. 6, n. 3.

⁶ Giesebrecht, ZAW, I., 276-332; W. R. Smith, *The O. T. in the Jewish Church*, 176-207; Toy, *Rise of Heb. Psalm-writing*, JSBLE, June, 1887, 47-60; Neubauer, *Studia Biblica*, II., p. 1 ff.; Cheyne, *The Historical Origin and Religious Ideas of the Psalter*; and refs. in Syl. V., p. 3, n. 2, and Syl. III., p. 5, n. 2,

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| 3) | 560-556. | Neriglassar, king of Babylonia. |
| 4) | 556-538. | Nabonidus, king of Babylonia. |
| 5) | 558-529. | Cyrus, king of Persia. |
| 6) | 538. | Cyrus captured Babylon. |
| 7) | 534. | Foundation of the second temple laid. |

2. LIVING, DESCRIPTIVE, AND PREDICTIVE PROPHECY.¹

- [1] 586 B.C. The destruction of Jerusalem. Jer. 39 (52).]
- [2] Jeremiah's release; Ishmael's attack; preparation for Egypt; Jeremiah consulted; his answer, remain in Palestine; the departure into Egypt; the prediction of Egypt's downfall. Jer. 40-43.]
- 3) Jeremiah rebukes the people; *the punishment which is coming*; the people's attitude; idolatry, the sin; *warning of future calamity*. Jer. 44.
- 4) *Edom's doom, because of her part in the destruction of Jerusalem; the restoration of Israel*. Obadiah.
- 5) 586 B.C. The office of watchman; the condition of things at this time; Ezek. 33: 1-33.
The reproof of the unfaithful shepherd, promise of mercy; Ezek. 34.
- 6) 586-573 B.C. *Judgment against Edom*. Ezek. 35, 36.
- 7) *Resurrection of dry bones*. Ezek. 37: 1-14.
- 8) *One stick out of two sticks*. Ezek. 37: 15-28.
- 9) *Judgment against Gog and Magog*. Ezek. 38, 39.
- 10) 573 B.C. *Vision of the temple and service*. Ezek. 40-46
- 11) *Vision of the Holy Land*. Ezek. 47, 48.
- [12] 573 B.C. Suffering of Judah and Jerusalem during the siege. Lam. 1: 1-22.]
- 13) The desolation of Judah; a supplication. Lam. 2: 1-21.
- 14) The sufferings of the faithful survivors; words of sorrow and hope; description of grief and misery. Lam. 3: 1-66.
- 15) The miseries of the siege; the destruction; the cause—

¹ It is not easy to distinguish predictions of the remote future from those of the near future. Hence living prophecy is indicated by brackets [], descriptive prophecies in Roman type, and predictive prophecy in *italic*.

sins of the prophets and priests ; Edom's treachery.
Lam. 4 : 1-22.

- 16) The agonies of the siege ; a prayer for restoration
Lam. 5 : 1-22.
- 17) The experience-prophecy of the period.
 - (a) In connection with Deuteronomy.
 - (b) In connection with J, E, and Deuteronomy.
 - (c) In connection with Judges, Samuel, and Kings.
- [18) The condition of the exiles in Babylon ; the sufferings of faithful Jews, *because of* the sins of others and for the welfare of others.]
- [19) The coming of Cyrus and its significance.]

Sermons of Consolation and Comfort by the Second Isaiah.

- 20) Be comforted ; deliverance is coming. Isa. 40 : 1-31.
 - (a) Vs. 1-11. Be comforted, Israel ; *Jehovah is coming ; his word is sure ; announce his coming as a warrior, as a shepherd.*
 - (b) Vs. 12-26. Jehovah has created the world ; in his sight men are nothing ; idols are manufactured things ; Jehovah brings out the stars.
 - (c) Vs. 27-31. Nor has God forgotten you ; he is not a mere local God ; he does not grow weary ; he is the source of all strength.
- 21) Jehovah, the God of history and prophecy. Isa. 41 : 1-28.
 - (a) Vs. 1-7. I, Jehovah, am God because I am the author of the great and terrifying work Cyrus is now doing.
 - (b) Vs. 8-20. [A digression.] *Israel shall not suffer anything at the hands of Cyrus ; they shall be delivered ; they shall overcome their enemies.*
 - (c) Vs. 21-24. I, Jehovah, am God because I can predict.
 - (d) Vs. 25-28. Résumé : I raised up Cyrus and can predict ; I am God. The case is dismissed.
- 22) The work of the servant. Isa. 42 : 1-43 : 13.
 - (a) 42 : 1-9. *My servant will work quietly until his great work has been accomplished ; I have chosen him to be a*

covenant and a light, to open eyes and heal; I pledge my honor that this shall be.

- (b) 42: 10-17. *Let the world rejoice, for Jehovah is to enter the arena of conflict; he is in travail; a new birth; nature changed; humanity changed; heathen confounded.*
 - (c) 42: 18-25. The present situation—my servant blind and deaf, and so ensnared; they ought to see that all this is from Jehovah, a punishment for their sins.
 - (d) 43: 1-13. *But now I will redeem them; nations shall be paid for them; they shall be gathered back, and shall know that I am God.*
- 23) Avenging, delivering, outpouring of Spirit. Isa. 43: 14-44: 5.
- (a) Vs. 14, 15. *Babylon shall be destroyed that Israel may be redeemed.*
 - (b) Vs. 16-21. The Jehovah of the exodus commands that it be forgotten in view of the greater event about to happen.
 - (c) Vs. 22-24. Thou hast not wearied thyself with service; but hast wearied me with thine iniquities.
 - (d) Vs. 25-28. For my own sake I forgive you; sinner though you have been from the beginning; *I will deliver you.*
 - (e) 44: 1-5, *I will bless your seed and heathen shall esteem it an honor to be reckoned one of you.*
- 24) The heathen gods vs. Israel's God. Isa. 44: 6-23.
- (a) Vs. 6, 7. Israel, I am the only one in whom you may confide.
 - (b) Vs. 8-20. Idolatry is fruitless, absurd, and the idolater is a deluded victim.
 - (c) Vs. 21-23. Israel, consider all this; I have the same old interest in you; I will pardon your disloyalty; I will redeem you.
- 25) Cyrus the anointed one and the deliverer. Isa. 44: 24-45: 25.

- (a) 44 : 24-28. *I speak, whom creation and history show to be God, who have established the words of prophets and have promised through Cyrus the restoration of Jerusalem.*
 - (b) 45 : 1-8. *I tell you, he shall be given nations, and kings shall submit to him : (1) that he may acknowledge God ; (2) that Israel may be delivered ; (3) that the world may be converted.*
 - (c) 45 : 9-13. *Do not complain of the delay ; will you command me when and what to do?*
 - (d) 45 : 14-18. *The heathen shall submit ; idolaters shall be converted ; Israel shall be redeemed.*
 - (e) 45 : 19-25. *Jehovah's word is truth ; turn therefore ; in the end all shall come true ; there will be a voluntary coming of all the world ; heathen shall become righteous in Jehovah ; Israel shall be glorified.*
- 26) The fall of Babylon's gods. Isa. 46.
- (a) Vs. 1, 2. *Bel and Nebo shall be carried on beasts into captivity.*
 - (b) Vs. 3-17. *Israel, carried by me from the womb, to be cared for till old age, is there any idol which ye will place beside me ?*
 - (c) Vs. 8-11. *Be warned, O ye who would imitate the heathen ; remember that I alone am God.*
 - (d) Vs. 12, 13. *O ye stupid ones, deliverance is near.*
- 27) The fall of Babylon. Isa. 47.
- (a) Vs. 1-3. *O tender, delicate "lady," come down ; in shame and ignominy thou shalt be dragged into captivity.*
 - (b) Vs. 4, 5. (Who speaks?) *Israel's redeemer, and he commands you : Cease boasting ; be silent ; hide thyself in darkness ; no longer shalt thou be "the lady."*
 - (c) Vs. 6, 7. *It is true, I was angry and placed my people in thy hands ; but thou hast shown no mercy, thou hast given no heed.*
 - (d) Vs. 8-11. *You were so self-confident, you thought no harm would come upon you ; but childlessness and widowhood shall come.*

- (e) Vs. 12-14. Bring on your enchanters and star-gazers and prognosticators and let them help you. You need their help.
- (f) V. 15. The merchants are fleeing from the city to their homes to escape the destruction.
- 28) The escape from Babylon. Isa. 48.
 - (a) Vs. 1, 2. Hear, O hypocritical Israel!
 - (b) Vs. 3-6a. In some cases, predictions have been made long before, lest you might ascribe it to an idol.
 - (c) Vs. 6b-8. In other cases predictions have been made just before the event in order that you might not have time to forget the source of the prediction and "claim to know it as a matter of course."
 - (d) Vs. 9-11. *And so only for mine own sake will I redeem you.*
 - (e) Vs. 12-19. *I will raise up Cyrus, and he shall destroy Babylon; if only you had hearkened, what blessings would have been yours.*
 - (f) Vs. 20-22. [But notwithstanding your obedience] *go forth from Babylon; leave behind you the city of your oppression. Sing songs of rejoicing. You will be given richest blessings; but for the wicked there shall be no peace.*
- 29) The servant's description of his experience and commission. Isa. 49: 1-26.
 - (a) Vs. 1-3. God has appointed me to be his servant; an arrow; a sword.
 - (b) Vs. 4-6. Because although dejected I exercised faith in him, he rewarded me by appointing me not simply to Israel but to all the world.
 - (c) Vs. 7-13. *Though now despised, kings shall bow to me; aided by God, I shall serve as a light to the Gentiles; Israel shall be delivered and return, and heaven and earth shall rejoice.*
 - (d) Vs. 14-26. [To despondent Zion:] Do not think that I have forgotten you! Can a mother, etc.?

Your children shall return in such numbers as to make room scarce. Your captors are not too strong; I will secure the release.

- 30) Israel's self-rejection; the steadfastness of the servant.

Isa. 50: 1-11.

(a) Vs. 1-3. Israel was given no bill of divorce; it is possible for her to come back; why does she not come? Is my arm too short? She alone is responsible.

(b) Vs. 4-11. I have been clearly taught Jehovah's will; and have made every effort to follow it out; shame and humiliation do not deter me; for God is near. Let those who fear Jehovah trust him; blasphemers shall perish.

- 31) The coming of salvation; departure of cup of wrath.

Isa. 51: 1-23.

(a) Vs. 1-3. Consider Abram's case and be confident.

(b) Vs. 4-8. *My instruction shall go to the entire world; those who accept it shall not perish; be confident.*

(c) Vs. 9-11. [Zion:] Awake, then, O God, and do valiant things as in times of yore, and fill our hearts with joy.

(d) Vs. 12-16. [God:] *I comfort you; why do you despair? You will not die in captivity, for I the seastirrer am your God; I have sent you to the world.*

(e) Vs. 17-23. *And so, Jerusalem, drunk with the fury of God's cup, awake; thou hast drunk long enough; the cup shall be placed in the mouth of your enemies.*

- 32) Israel is redeemed. Isa. 52: 1-12.

(a) Vs. 1-3. Bestir thyself and rise from the dust; being sold for nothing, you *can* be redeemed.

(b) Vs. 4-6. Because, Egypt and Assyria oppressing you, I have nothing left here(?); because my name is reviled, you must be redeemed.

(c) Vs. 7-10. *How welcome the messengers who bring good tidings! How the prophets rejoice! the waste places sing!*

- (d) Vs. 11, 12. *Go forth from Babylon, do not defile yourselves; do not go in confusion; but with Jehovah in front and behind.*
- 33) The work and character of the servant. Isa. 52:13—53:12.
- (a) 52:13. [The theme:] *My servant shall be exalted very high.*
- (b) 52:14, 15. [The theme expanded:] *My servant shall pass through a period of shame and reproach; but after this, kings will acknowledge his greatness.*
- (c) 53:1-3. The servant is not recognized; he appears to be a sucker, stunted, no form; he is despised, deserted.
- (d) Vs. 4-6. But all this suffering was for *our* sins; though we in our blindness regarded him as stricken with leprosy; it was *we* who had gone astray; on him *our* iniquity was laid.
- (e) Vs. 7-9. He was treated rigorously without complaining; he was treated unjustly, and yet his contemporaries did not see that he was suffering for his people; his end was an inglorious one.
- (f) Vs. 10-12. *In return for this God purposed to prolong his days, to accomplish through him His work; he would render many righteous; he would receive a great reward; he would be treated as a conqueror.*
- 34) The changed condition of the future. Isa. 54:1-17.
- (a) Vs. 1-3. *Cry out, O Zion, now barren, the object of reproach, for your children will soon be so many as to demand an enlargement of your tent.*
- (b) Vs. 4-10. Jehovah forsook thee, but it was only for a moment; *he will be angry with thee no more.*
- (c) Vs. 11-17. *Now greatly afflicted, thou shalt have a strong and glorious foundation; your enemies shall perish, their weapons proving of no avail.*
- 35) Invitation to accept the promises. Isa. 55:1-13.
- (a) Vs. 1-5. O thirsty Israel, come and drink; no money is demanded; obedience to my command will bring all these blessings.

- (b) Vs. 6-7. *The deliverance is coming; let all obstacles be removed; exert yourselves to become sharers in it.*
- (c) Vs. 8-13. Do not be incredulous; my thoughts are higher than your thoughts; my word is unalterable; *you will go out; there shall be glory and peace.*
- 36) No technical disqualifications. Isa. 56: 1-8.
- (a) Vs. 1-3. [Who shall enjoy these promised blessings?] Those who obey God's commands and keep the Sabbath; the stranger, the eunuch.
- (b) Vs. 4-5. [To the eunuch:] If you keep my Sabbath and choose right things, *I will give you a name better than of sons and daughters.*
- (c) Vs. 6-8. [To the stranger:] If you join yourself to Jehovah and keep the Sabbath, *my house and mine altar will be yours.*
- 37) The wickedness of the past and present. Isa. 56:9-57:21.
(Uttered in reference to the disloyal, sinful Israel.)
- (a) V. 9. O heathen nations come and devour my people.
- (b) Vs. 10-12. Israel's watchmen are blind; greedy dogs; Israel is a neglected flock.
- (c) Vs. 57:1, 2. Under these circumstances, the righteous are perishing and no one sees that they are being gathered in from a coming judgment.
- (d) Vs. 3-11a. The idolatrous tendencies among outside Israel; corruption, licentiousness, etc.
- (e) Vs. 11b-13a. *The fate of those who act thus—swept away.*
- (f) Vs. 13b-14. *The future of those who trust—inheritance in God's holy mountain.*
- (g) Vs. 15-21. *I will come back and heal you; I will give peace to those who are afar off; but for the wicked there shall be no rest.*
- 38) The false worship and the true. Isa. 58.
- (a) Vs. 1-4. The useless fasting of the times.
- (b) Vs. 5-7. The kind of fasting Jehovah wants.

- (c) Vs. 8-12. Promises to the obedient.
 - (d) Vs. 12, 13, 14. If they will observe the Sabbath God will prosper them.
- 39) Israel's sins; her confession; Jehovah's appearance.
- (a) Vs. 1-8. Israel's sins in the past and present, on account of which Israel is now suffering.
 - (b) Vs. 9-15a. The prophet on behalf of the people confesses their responsibility for the present condition of things.
 - (c) Vs. 15b-21. The confession being genuine, Jehovah desiring to grant forgiveness, yet finding no champion, *his own arm will work salvation; his own righteousness will uphold him.*
- 40) A song concerning glorified Zion. Isa. 60.
- (a) Vs. 1-4. *The exiles will be restored from captivity.*
 - (b) Vs. 5-9. *The temple will be rebuilt in all its glory.*
 - (c) Vs. 10-14. *The New Jerusalem shall be rebuilt in all the glory of the past.*
 - (d) Vs. 15-18. *The City will be prosperous, wealthy and influential.*
 - (e) Vs. 19-22. *The divine favor will be extended to all the people.*
- 41) Soliloquy of the servant concerning his work. Isa. 61.
- (a) Vs. 1-3. I have been set apart to heal, to release the captive and to comfort.
 - (b) Vs. 4-9. *Jerusalem shall be restored. God will bless her and this blessing shall attract the notice of the whole world.*
 - (c) Vs. 10, 11. The servant is grateful for the blessing which has been granted. He has not himself sinned, but has taken on the sins of others.
- 42) Jehovah's promise concerning Jerusalem. Isa. 62.
- (a) Vs. 1-5. *Jerusalem shall be delivered. The nations shall call her by a new name. She shall wear a diadem of royalty; the restored captives shall take possession of her.*
 - (b) Vs. 6-9. *The watchers shall not give Jehovah rest until Jerusalem has been restored.*

- (c) Vs. 8-9. *The land shall never again be laid waste.*
 (d) Vs. 10-12. *Let Judah go up from Babylon to Jerusalem.*
- 43) *Jehovah's triumphal return from battle with the opposing nations.* Isa. 63:1-6.
- 44) Hymn of thanksgiving, supplication and confession. Isa. 63:7-64.
- (a) 63:7-9. *The wonderful loving kindness of God.*
 (b) 63:10. *The ingratitude and rebellion of the people.*
 (c) 63:11-14. *The mighty works which God has accomplished in the past.*
 (d) 63:15-64:12. *Supplication and confession on behalf of the prophet for the nations.*
- 45) *Jehovah's answer to the prophet's prayer; mercy and justice; new heavens and new earth.* Isa. 65.
- (a) Vs. 1-7. *Jehovah has always been accessible; Israel would not come; it was necessary to punish.*
 (b) Vs. 8-10. *The remnant shall be saved.*
 (c) Vs. 11-16. *Those devoted to the heathen shall perish.*
 (d) Vs. 17-25. *A new dispensation; society transformed; no sorrow, no death.*
- 46) *Spiritual service; Jerusalem's future contrasted with that of her enemies.* Isa. 66.
- (a) Vs. 1, 2. *No visible temple will be sufficient.*
 (b) Vs. 3, 4. *Gross superstitions of the times rebuked.*
 (c) Vs. 5-9. *A nation shall be born in a day.*
 (d) Vs. 10-14. *There shall be peace and joy in Jerusalem.*
 (e) Vs. 15-19. *Judgment will be visited upon the enemies of Jehovah.*
 (f) Vs. 20-21. *Israel shall be restored from all nations and shall last forever. Israel's rites shall be observed in Jerusalem. The great judgment will not be forgotten.*

Aids to Bible Readers.

THE FORESHADOWINGS OF THE CHRIST. I.

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Introductory: Jesus Christ in the Old Testament;—Methods of finding him there;—Advantages and difficulties of the Historical Method.—Foresadowings of the Christ before the Mosaic age;—(1) Man and his destiny;—(2) The hope unquenched by sin;—(3) The hope of comfort;—(4) Divine indwelling;—(5) A future victorious ruler;—Summary.—Foresadowings of the Mosaic age;—(1) Israel among the nations;—(2) Hopes of Israel's inner life;—Summary.

INTRODUCTORY.

JESUS CHRIST is the unifying element in the Old and the New Testaments. He himself is the witness to the close and vital connection which exists between him and the thoughts and events of the old dispensation. The pages of the gospels are full of references to it. "He wrote of me," was his declaration concerning Moses. The followers of Jesus were accustomed to find strong and convincing arguments in his behalf in the various fulfilments of Old Testament life and prediction which his presence and words and experiences reveal. His relation to Hebrew history, therefore, will always make that history of especial importance to us.

It is a subject of unceasing interest and permanent value to the Christian student to follow out the Old Testament preparation for his coming and work. For the essential element in Hebrew history, after all, does not lie in the disclosures of a general providence working through the events and experiences of the Hebrew nation, nor in the light which these throw upon the universal principles of human government and human society, important as are all these lines of inquiry and worthy of study, but rather in the fact that Hebrew history reveals the working out of the divine purpose of salvation for the race. The preliminary stages of this salvation are recorded in the Old Testament, and the investigation of them is central and vital in its study.

These stages of preparation, these foreshadowings as they may be called, are to be the subject of our study. The methods of arriving at these facts and of interpreting them have been various. There is what might be called the fulfilment method; that is, the investigation of certain passages of the Old Testament from the point of view of the New, the endeavor to discover how much more the Old Testament means when it is viewed in the light of the life, teachings, and work of Jesus Christ. This is a legitimate and important inquiry. Another method might be called the theological, or systematic method, which endeavors to determine the ultimate and essential truth which these Old Testament statements contain. It involves to a certain extent the method of fulfilments, but yet its aim is to make abstract and full statements of the truth, and to arrange these in a logical order, rather than to devote the attention merely to the enumeration of a series of fulfilments. The tendency is to view all of the material as of the same importance and significance, without regarding the time, the manner, or the form of its production.

We shall adopt, however, another method, which may be called for convenience the historical method; that is to say, it will take up the Old Testament materials from the point of view of their historical origin and environment. The history will be studied from the Hebrew side; the ideas will be investigated as they grow out of the history, and are modified or conditioned by it. The question asked will be, not so much, What did this statement mean to the Christian church? but, What did it mean to him who first uttered it and to those by whom it was first heard or read?

This historical method of investigation is not an easy one. It requires of us a certain amount of imagination as well as self-restraint to transport ourselves into the remote periods of the past and to see with the eyes of the men of old, not importing into the picture that which to us may seem to be so intimately associated with it. This way of looking at the subject carries with it certain new points of view which at first may seem strange. We shall have to recognize that these ideas, events, and predictions disclose only a very imperfect apprehension of the great truths and facts which seem so clear and definite to us in the light of their fulfilment. To those who stood in the semi-darkness and uncertainty of the pre-Christian period, this material had no such fulness of meaning. Their vision was not illumined with the light of day. They lived in hope, and these hopes in their details were, on the one hand, indefinite and general, and, on

the other, limited and conditioned by the historical situation. They were *foreshadowings*.

In particular the historical method may seem to take away from us much of that personal element which has connected the Old Testament directly with the Christ of the New. As we put these sayings, ideals, events, in their historical relations, and, in company with the prophets and heroes, we look forward and compel ourselves to see the future in the hazy, suggestive, indistinct twilight before the sunrise, it will follow that what today seems to have pointed to Christ had in its historical position and reference a different or general application. The historic Jesus was not in their thoughts, whatever of fulness and definiteness his historical existence may have thrown back upon the inner meaning of the promises and the divine purpose in them.¹

But in spite of what may seem at first a narrowing of the richness and attraction of the theme by the rigid insistence upon the historical method, there are compensations which outweigh all these seeming disadvantages. (1) In this light chiefly is the Old Testament seen as a living thing and the Old Testament history as reality. What we desire above all things else in Bible study is to come face to face with reality. These prime facts of God's dealing with men in his purpose of salvation for them are seen in their growing, in their actual progress in history among men.

Therefore (2) we gain a better understanding of their meaning. For to be able to trace the successive steps in the realization of an event is to gain the only proper and satisfactory insight into its character. The preparation for Christ was in history; to history, therefore, must we go, and with history must we advance, if we would understand this preparation.

(3) There can be no question but that our conviction of the broad, all-inclusive, and pervasive power of Christianity as a world force in politics, in society, in literature and in life will be strengthened as we follow out this more general foreshadowing of the larger Christ as he appears in Hebrew history and thought. We are bound to gain a larger view of the divine activity and purpose, foreshadowing something of the apostolic view of Christ, the permanent significance of Christianity, and thus a conception more satisfying, because more real, of the essential unity of the Old and the New Testaments.

Such a study as is here suggested demands patience, courage, and

¹ The introductory remarks in the article of Professor Curtiss in the present number of the BIBLICAL WORLD may profitably be considered in this connection.

insight. The student must seek the guidance of the divine Spirit who pervaded the history and literature of Israel, to enable him properly and successfully to pursue this work.

I. THE PRE-MOSAIC FORESHADOWINGS.

The Book of Genesis contains the fine gold of primitive Hebrew tradition sifted, refined by generations of inspired students of Jehovah's will. It presents some difficult problems to one who seeks in it the historical foreshadowings of the Messiah. The literary character of the book involves the first problem. It is a composite. The book is made up of materials from many sources, ancient poetry, prophecy, history, coming from various authors, put together long after the events which it records.

The historical question is also one of extreme difficulty. The form of the book is conditioned by elements which belong to later periods the understanding of which depends upon our apprehension of the social and religious atmosphere in which they are produced. How far can we recognize in this material thus gathered, thus modified, thus refined, actual preservation of definite historical facts and details? The book as it stands is a great sermon intended to teach supreme lessons of divine wisdom and justice and love. How far is the historical method applicable to this material? In fine, the book is the work of prophets who had before them a great mass of primitive tradition which the Hebrew people cherished concerning the beginnings of the world and man, the early movements of peoples, and the origins of their own nation. All these materials are sifted, organized, interpreted, and idealized under the influence of the religious conceptions and aspirations of later ages, in which the religious education and divine guidance of Israel's teachers had passed beyond the elementary stage. It is from this point of view that our pre-Mosaic material must be studied,—as an interpretation rather than a record of the past.

1. *The ideal conception of man and his destiny.*—Gen. 1:26–30. This sublime picture is the condition of all prophecy and of all history as under special divine guidance and as a ground of hope. What is it that is here promised?

a. Man's nature is godlike. The essential being of man is identical with that of his Creator.

b. The purpose of his creation is that he may become the lord of the world. The proper translation of the second clause in vs. 26 is not "let them" but "that they may have dominion over," etc.

c. This lofty purpose is to be accomplished by the human race; it is "the gradual taking possession of a kingdom given to mankind by God."¹

Let us try to realize what this ideal conception involves; what hope lies within it. The man to whom it was revealed and who uttered it was conscious in himself that mankind had not yet attained unto it, that the attainment was far distant. In his utterance there lies the inspired thought of a glorious future, that man is designed for something infinitely beyond what he has yet attained; that he was born to be a king; that he was intended by nature for companionship with God, and that these fundamental purposes, because divine, shall ultimately be realized. This sublime prophecy, therefore, is the basis and foundation of all that is to follow. The purpose and the progress of salvation is made possible because of this primal fact.

2. *The hope unquenched by sin.*—Gen. 3:14, 15. These verses disclose a very different picture. The writer is one who stands in the midst of the plainest and saddest facts of human life, facts which demand from him an interpretation and explanation. These are the essential facts of human sin, human birth and human death, waywardness from God, the coming of the individual into the world through the agony of the mother, his struggle for existence, his labor and sorrow, and his passing away in spite of all resistance and struggle. Under the divine guidance the prophet has given us his interpretation, and through the interpretation he has risen to a higher sphere. Out of it he has drawn glorious hope, sublime inspiration for the future. What is his explanation, and what is his hope?

a. Everything returns for its solution to man's disobedience toward God. The birth-pangs of the mother and her sorrows, man's conflict with the soil for the means of existence, the horror of death, are the results of the divine displeasure against the fall of the race from its fidelity toward its Creator. This is the fountain of sin.

b. Sin is not originally natural to humanity. Man struggles against it. There is enmity between the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent.

c. Observe that all is general. It is humanity that is in the eye of the seer.

d. How, or where, or when this struggle shall culminate he does not say. To him it is in its principle and essence an undying and unending struggle.

¹ Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, p. 71.

e. Man shall ultimately conquer—not without suffering, not without pain. The head of the serpent shall be crushed, though the heel be bruised.

What a picture of the history of humanity is given in the writer's portrayal of the fundamental perplexities of human life! What an insight into essential causes! What a sublime hope and inspiration is added in his prophecy of victory over difficulty, of the final solution of this terrific problem!

3. *The hope of comfort.*—Gen. 5:29. The fundamental problems of individual human life, sin, and death, have given occasion to the first sublime picture of hope and victory. But there are other problems that concern society which pressed with equal weight upon the heart of the prophetic narrator. The two extremes of social organization disclosed in nomadic life, on the one hand, and the gathering of masses of men into cities, on the other, war and its attendant evils, polygamy, murder, sensuous pleasures, around all of which the material of tradition gathered, must be interpreted and presented by the prophet, their secret grasped, their riddle solved. To the Israelite in his quiet, agricultural life quite barren of excitement and simple in its pleasures, the rich and varied life of the city seems to be a departure from the true principles of society, and to bring with it a train of evil consequences. To him they appear as the concomitants of a sinful development. So the picture is given of the progress of the Cainite line, in the invention of weapons of war and instruments of music, in the practice of polygamy, in the first murder, all exhibited in the spirit of revenge and pride condensed in the song of Lamech.

Over against this dark panorama the narrator presents another and more hopeful prospect. Another son of our first parents is the progenitor of a line culminating in one who is to introduce a new era, and about whom therefore cluster the divine assurances of hope and peace. The line of Seth is conspicuous for Enoch, who walked with God, and for Noah, who is to be the comfort of his race. With him is the new beginning. He is one who obeys God in the face of the disobedience of all other men. He is the comforter who gives to humanity the opportunity to breathe again. In Noah the prophet presents his own idea of social life and normal activity, as over against the corrupt practices of the Cainite civilization. It is as an agriculturist that Noah is to bring comfort to man. He is to till the soil, to win the victory over the stubborn earth, which is involved in the curse. As he comes forth from the ark the promise is given that the earth shall henceforth yield

her fruit in her season to him. He, according to the prophet, is a type of a true citizen of the world and son of God, in that he is no wild nomad, nor does he live in a city. He has no weapons of war. He is a husbandman who wins for man the prize of earth's fruitfulness, and particularly the blessed gift of the vine. Thus in him is seen a prophecy of one element in the final victory over evil, the ideal of a true civilization, the subjection of earth to man.

4. *The hope of divine indwelling in Shem.*—Gen. 9:25-27. The victory of Noah was his undoing. He yielded to that which he conquered. The fruit of the vine tempted him to a fall, the consequences of which involved his descendants. The strange story of Genesis 9:20-23 is made the occasion of the utterance of an oracle of wide-reaching import. Its words run into the forms of Hebrew ethnography of the prophet's own time. There is no little difficulty in the interpretation of this oracle, especially of the passage, "And let him dwell in the tents of Shem." Does the pronoun refer to Japheth or to Jehovah? If the former, the words proclaim the ultimate ascendancy of Japheth over Shem, or at least his inheritance in the blessings that gather about the Shemite religion. If the latter, it would be a repetition of the promise of the former verse, only in a more detailed form. Jehovah is to be not only the God of Shem, but is to dwell in his tents. The latter view is more satisfactory. The importance of all this is (1) that now for the first time Jehovah is to dwell with men. He is to reveal himself among them. The hope of the Divine Advent appears. (2) This advent is selective. He is the God of a family. Intimate knowledge of him is assured from personal contact and communion to this particular people. Among all men he has chosen where he will appear and dwell.

5. *The hope of the national home and glory.*—Gen. 12:1-3; 13:14-17; 15:1-7; 27:27-29. The Hebrew traditions respecting Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are much more local and limited in their character, but for that very reason are clearer and fuller. Jehovah is the tribal God of these clans, and the oracles and experiences center about his particular relations to them.

The student should first of all observe that the background of the whole picture is the nomadic life of the patriarchs. They have no settled home. They move to and fro. To the prophetic narrator and interpreter this mode of existence, as we have already seen, appears unsatisfactory. He feels, therefore, a fundamental imperfection in the lives of these heroes which gives color and character to the whole repre-

sentation. It is through their wandering life that they fall into sin, are caught in difficulties, and come to conflicts with the inhabitants. Their lives are made uneasy, fraught with questionings and fears thereby. As nomads they cannot achieve the fulfilment of the divine will.

But the insight of the prophet enables him out of this dark background to exalt the divine purpose of Jehovah in relation to his future people, and from this to pass to Messianic foreshadowings. His interpretation of the events and oracles gathers about the outlook for the national home and its future glory.

(1) The three heroes become champions of faith, Abraham the foremost. God made him a wanderer. He must separate from all former associations, home and kindred. He has reached mature life before this decision is made. Isaac and Jacob, however, are selected before birth, and, like him, continue in the line which he has established. With him, therefore, is a new beginning in the prophet's mind unlike all that precedes, conditioned and characterized by faith and hope. These heroes embody the highest characteristics of the future people. They foreshadow the great personalities who from time to time shall glorify the nation, represent Jehovah, and point forward to a greater One than they all.

(2) The land through which the patriarchs wandered is of divine selection. It extends as far as the eye can reach. It is a land of fertility and richness beyond compare, a gift of God designed of him to receive and nourish the nation when its day of settlement and peace shall come.

(3) And this nation is to be one of wide extent and influence. In this favored land it shall grow into a great multitude. It shall be a ruling nation, and as others stand related to it is their destiny determined. A curse or a blessing lies in its attitude toward those about it. Many shall there be who shall bless themselves by reason of sharing in the blessing which its favor confers.

6. *The hope of a future victorious ruler.*—Gen. 49:1, 8-12. As the former oracle concerned the relation of the nation to those without, so this oracle has to do with the internal affairs of the future nation. It is still more limited and local in its scope. From among the clans one tribe, Judah, is honored, and his ultimate superiority and permanent authority proclaimed. He is the protagonist of the nation. The exaltation is first to victorious warfare which he wages as leader among his brethren. This warfare secures permanently the national heritage.

When the victory is gained he rests like a lion in his lair, enjoying the prey. His rule is to be increasingly successful and glorious "until Shiloh come." Whatever the particular meaning of this enigmatic phrase may be,¹ the essential thought is without doubt that his success shall continue until he controls all, until his sway is unhindered. Then, with all things in his hands, he rules in a land of marvelous resources, developed to its highest point of prosperity, over the submissive peoples.

If the student, at the close of this study of pre-Mosaic foreshadowings, will now endeavor to gather up and organize the separate materials furnished by each picture, several points may be suggested.

(a) Separate oracles and fragments of tradition have been wrought by the insight of the narrator into an *organism* with closely related parts, the whole moving forward in historical progress. This is a marvelous conception of history realized by no other ancient people. The Hebrew seer looking back upon the past beholds it all under the guidance of Jehovah, who from the beginning has planned out the course of affairs. This Jehovah, God of Israel, is by him identified with the Creator of the world, the Lord of universal righteousness, the One dwelling among men, the friend and helper of his faithful servants everywhere, and who is working out his purposes of grace and redemption toward his creation. The process of divine selection is set in motion. Hopes are aroused. Promises are given. A land is chosen. A nation is constituted. A victorious leader is assured.

(b) Another idea appears beneath this organic view of primitive history. Its keynote is the *idealism* of the prophet. At the basis of his interpretation was the undying hope which rose above all the gloom of the present, which used the truth already attained to see more deeply into the future. In this ideal light he pictures the past, dim, uncertain and fragmentary as it is. Touching the supreme crises of the primitive history, it gives to them also a glow which beams down the ages and out-shines even the realities of his own religious experience. It is this which makes these promises Messianic.

(c) The *moral element* in this picture is not its least striking characteristic. The victory which humanity is to win is not merely a victory over the stubborn earth, over the difficulties of social and political organization, and over all the sorrows, misfortunes, and insoluble enig-

¹ It is now recognized by all to have no reference to an individual named Shiloh. The margin of the Revised Version gives various renderings, all of which are plausible.

mas of human life. Because all is traced back by him to a fundamental moral failure on the part of man, the victory is to be a moral one in the return to obedience to Jehovah, from whom man has fallen away. As this fall is to him the explanation of all other problems and difficulties and perplexities, so is the final deliverance and restoration the pledge of all lesser joys.

(d) Yet still deeper, interpenetrating all, is the thought of the eternal and omnipotent *purpose and presence of Jehovah*. Because Jehovah is here, the Jehovah who is the Creator of earth and man, who is the Lord of the natural and spiritual universe,—it is because of what he is that the victory is to be achieved. He enters into communion with man. He guards human destinies. His purposes control the affairs of men, and all to the end that righteousness and truth may prevail. Because of what he is, these hopes shall be realized. The land shall be conquered. The nation shall be born. The leaders shall come and shall lead. The world shall be subdued. Salvation shall be achieved.

(e) Have we not, then, gained some clearer idea, not merely of the meaning of these marvelous utterances and events, but also of the *point of view and method* of thought and action of the prophet? He is the interpreter, resting upon the solid ground of religious experience, sensitive to Jehovah's touch. He applies his experience and insight to his own age and its problems as they appear, and in the application he rises to hopes and convictions unfelt before. In the same way he deals with the past, however fragmentary and fleeting its memorials. He interprets these meager memorials, arranges them, and reads into them his own grander ideas. In the light of his spiritual perceptions and his divinely communicated idealism, they are transfigured before us.

II. THE FORESHADOWINGS FROM THE MOSAIC AGE.

The nation of Israel, foretold for the prophetic narrator in the fragments of pre-Mosaic tradition, comes into existence in the midst of experiences which condition its character and future. The oppression in Egypt, with its humiliating burdens, the dawning hope of escape, the marvelous deliverance at the Red Sea, the discipline of the desert life, served to mold the unstable and imperfect mass into a new organization with specially defined characteristics. Greater than merely external circumstances and experiences, however, in its influence, was the effect produced by the presence of the great personality under whose direction and inspiration the passage from slavery to freedom took place. Moses was the founder of Israel, in that he

united the tribal fragments and gave new meaning to ancient political and social institutions, so that a unique community came into being inspired by new motives.

The pervading principle which the organization in all its parts reflected was religious. All rested upon the recognition of Jehovah as Israel's God. But this conception took on new meaning and force because of the new light thrown by the inspired leader and prophet upon the character and purposes of their national deity in his covenant with them. Jehovah, God of Israel, is a God of righteousness and love. He requires obedience to his just and holy law. He delivers his people from their enemies. This was Moses' gospel, ratified at the Red Sea and on Sinai. On this foundation the Hebrew nation was built, and with this principle all its institutions were inspired. Centuries were to pass before the full meaning and issue of these thoughts were disclosed.

Into this field, so full of germinal forces and ideas, prophetic and priestly seers of later ages have gone, undertaking as before to interpret the larger significances of these events. The narrators belong to various periods of Israel's later history. They evince varying modes of religious insight, living, as they do, under very different conditions and interested in many different religious ideas. Their interpretation of this material, therefore, is marked by much variety, as they lay emphasis upon this or that aspect of the newly forming nation. The most important passages which illustrate the special subject fall under two general heads: (1) The outlooks of Israel among the nations; (2) the hopes of Israel's inner life.

1. *Outlooks of Israel among the nations.*—Numbers 24: 17-19; Deut. 32: 6-10; Ex. 19: 3-6. These three passages all have to do with the relations which the new nation is to have with the peoples without.

a. A picture of Israel's royal place and power is given from the non-Israelitish seer Balaam, as he stands upon the heights of Moab overlooking the army of Israel below, and, rapt in ecstasy, beholds the far distant rising of a conquering king. Thus the certainty of its ultimate victory over all nations round about, and its proud position as lord of the world, are most impressively emphasized as from one outside of the circle of the chosen nation. The striking feature of the oracle is that the representation is individual. The unity of Israel, symbolized in a victorious leader, is vividly set forth. He bears the scepter of authority. His is the star of destined success.

b. The stanzas from an ancient poem which the Deuteronomic nar-

rator has preserved interpret the prophetic insight of Moses into the peculiar relation of Israel to Jehovah. It is described as that of "Father" and "Son." In the light of this relationship the nation's past is viewed. Long before the son came the father determined, in view of his coming, the position and relations of the nations. The nation came into being in the desert. In the desert Jehovah took him up, protected and fostered him.

c. The priestly seer interprets another side of Israel's early life. To him both kingdom and priesthood had long been in existence. In the relation of Moses and the nation to Jehovah, as this came down to him from the early days, he saw the inner meaning of the national destiny from his own priestly point of view. To him the nation's opportunity was to become not merely a conquering people ruling the world, but, while occupying that regal place, to be a priestly people also, offering up acceptable worship unto Jehovah before the nations, if not even mediating in behalf of the nations before him. This destiny was in his sight not confined to any one body within the nation; it was the property of the entire people. To this end they must separate themselves unto God. They must draw near in obedience unto Jehovah. Theirs was a royal destiny, but royal because sacerdotal. They would rule in the higher sphere of the religious service of humanity.

2. *Hopes of Israel's inner life.*—Deut. 17:14-20; 18:15-19; Numbers 25:12-13. As these narrators interpreted the germs of Israel's relation to the world without, in view of what they felt to be its larger issues, so they saw in the elements of Israel's infancy the beginnings of higher institutions and the significance of these in the nation. Monarchy, prophecy, priesthood lie enwrapped in the Mosaic constitution.

a. Israel is to have a king in the fulness of time, and he is to be one whom Jehovah shall choose—one of his own people, a servant of Jehovah, pure and simple, free from pride, upright and just. These characteristics are set in contradistinction to those of the degenerate rulers of the prophet's own day. Such a line shall rule over Israel forever.

b. For the institution of prophecy how close a parallel and how suggestive a prospect is presented in the person of Moses himself, who is to his nation the bearer of the messages of Jehovah, the interpreter of the divine will, and the revealer of the higher possibilities of those germinant institutions which the tribes brought with them into the

new nation. In him is the assurance that Jehovah will provide others like him. The form of the oracle is individual. Whether the promise concerns an individual or an order cannot be decisively determined. In such a case the application is probably twofold. The narrator may reasonably be regarded as having in his mind not only a prophet of his own day who realized these characteristics in a special manner, but also the larger body of which he was a member. The essential features of the order upon which he lays emphasis are that the prophet should be one of his own people who brings to man with divine authority a message which he has himself received from Jehovah. They who reject his word must reckon with Jehovah himself.

c. The priestly narrator dwells upon the salvation of Israel from the righteous wrath of Jehovah through the timely action of the priest Phinehas. This act of "atonement" calls forth the divine assurance that there will never cease from Israel those who shall be priests unto Jehovah. For Israel the priesthood is of permanent significance. In its hands is the covenant with Jehovah, whereby peace is secured to the nation.

In gathering together these brief hints of the foreshadowings of the Mosaic period, some concluding suggestions should be taken into consideration and compared with those made regarding the teachings of the pre-Mosaic age.

(a) More definitely and convincingly than was possible in the former material is to be observed how back of the prophecy and promise lies *the history* conditioning their form and direction. This history, taken as the starting point, is worked into an ideal picture projecting itself thereby into and beyond the prophet's own time.

(b) The particular element in this idealization is to be regarded, in harmony with what has preceded, as *the "manifest destiny" of the nation*, evident from the beginning, before the beginning.

(c) The nation thus predestined is also "*postdestined*," that is, the beginning conditions and determines the conclusion. It is to be a *permanent force* in the world. Thus its various elements, appearing in germ at this time, are proclaimed as enduring. The institutions are to last "forever."

(d) The idealization here observed is explicable neither from the Mosaic age itself nor from the prophet's own times. Something must be allowed for oriental hyperbole, but it may be safely said that external circumstances were opposed to any such hope. It was cherished in spite of them. Whence did it come?

(e) It is perfectly evident that the picture of the future is based on the same *faith in Jehovah's purpose and faithfulness* which the pre-Mosaic age revealed.

(f) The moral sanity of the prophet is illustrated in his constant insistence upon the conditioning element of *national righteousness*. These glorious prospects are to be realized for an obedient and righteous people, faithful to Jehovah, God of justice and truth.

(g) One particular in which the history is seen to condition the picture lies in the fact that the outlook is *external and political*. The hopes are centered not so much about individuals as about orders, organizations, institutions. There is little that is internal, individual, spiritual. The Mosaic period was primarily the formative era of the national life and polity. The inner character and intent of the institutions, the higher spiritual realities they prepared, were secondary. Hence the wide atmosphere and the largeness of the outlook which characterized the material of the pre-Mosaic age are not so apparent here. Indeed, the nomadic life of the people could not but seem imperfect and unpleasant to the narrators. The whole period, in spite of its germinant elements, is beset with disaster, waywardness, and gloom. The great deliverance at the beginning is swallowed up in the weary wanderings and baffled designs of the forty years of desert life that followed. Only in connection with the beginning and end of the period do the brighter prospects appear and they are confined to the sphere of outward, organic, national life.

A PARAPHRASE OF THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.¹

Concluded.

By PROFESSOR GEORGE B. STEVENS, PH.D., D.D.,
Yale University.

CHAPTER IX.

(1-3) How deep is my interest in my countrymen and how deeply I lament their rejection of the Messiah is evidenced by my willingness to perish if thereby I might save them. (4, 5) Their lapse seems the more sad in view of their great privileges and advantages as the theocratic people, chief of which is the descent of Christ from Jewish ancestry on his human side, while, in the depths of his being, he partakes in the nature of the blessed Deity. (6-9) But the unbelief of my people will not involve the failure of God's promise. If we look back at our history we perceive that there has been a selective process going on; not all members of the nation proved themselves true children of God. We see this in the case of the two sons of Abraham, Ishmael and Isaac, and their descendants. Only one of these lines proved faithful to God; yet God's promise to his people was not thereby annulled. (10-13) Another example is found in the two lines which are descended from Isaac, that of Esau and that of Jacob. The fact that God made choice of the latter rather than of the former shows that Jacob was not chosen for any merit of his own.

(14-16) Because God chooses one and rejects another shall we conclude that he is unjust? No; for in the law he claims that prerogative. His choice of any is based, not upon their merits or strivings, but upon his own sovereign mercy. (17, 18) An example of this absoluteness of God's action is seen in his dealing with the Pharaoh. The Old Testament says that God brought him upon the field of history in order to exhibit his power upon him. This example also shows that God extends his mercy to men or hardens them in sin according to his good pleasure.

(19-21) But this view will provoke the objection: If a man, in pursuing a sinful course, is but fulfilling the divine will, how can God attach guilt to his action? The question is presumptuous. Man is quite incompetent thus to judge the procedure of God. Men are like clay in the hands of the potter. Can the clay complain, if the potter makes from the same lump vessels for

¹ I have prefixed in parentheses the number of the verses to the paraphrase, instead of affixing it, for greater convenience of reference.

noble and vessels for ignoble use? (22-24) So, if God, while wishing, on the one hand, to exhibit his justice in the punishment of some men for whom this penalty had been determined, yet withheld its execution for a time out of compassion, who has a right to complain (either of the long suffering or of the determination to destroy)? and if, further, it was his purpose to exhibit, during this period of forbearance, his saving mercy on some whom he had chosen for this end,—whether Jews or Gentiles,—who has the right to complain? (25-29) The Old Testament speaks of such acts of God as being wholly independent of all claims or merits on man's part, as, for example, in the call of the Gentiles, and in the preservation of a remnant in Israel.

(30-33) Since God's action is never based upon human merit, and since he always acts justly, what must we conclude is the reason, on the Jews' side, of their rejection and of the Gentiles' acceptance? It is that while the Jews were striving to establish their own righteousness by works, the Gentiles have accepted the righteousness which is offered through the gospel on condition of faith. As of old Israel found the divine word the occasion of their overthrow and calamity, because of their disobedience to God, so do they now again stumble over the truth that faith is that which God requires.

CHAPTER X.

(1-3) How earnestly do I yearn for the salvation of my people, and well I may, for they still have much interest in their ancestral religion, but how mixed with misconception of its real principles and demands. From this misconception flows this futile effort to win salvation by merit instead of accepting that which God graciously offers. (4, 5) There can be no thought of the law as the means of salvation now that Christ has come; and, indeed, it was never actually a means of salvation, because its requirement was perfect obedience; it could not save without that and that was always wanting. (6-11) The faith principle is quite different. It sets before us no impracticable task. It only asks us to accept the divine promise and truth which is close at hand; it demands only that we lean in faith upon Christ; resting in him and confessing him as Saviour we shall have security and peace. (12-15) This is a truth of universal application. Its promise of salvation is as wide as the race. All may accept it. Nor can the Jews justly say that this way of grace was not known to them, and so excuse themselves.

(16-21) Let us examine this justification of disobedience. Have they not had abundant opportunity to learn these truths of grace and faith? Yes; they pervaded their own Scriptures as the light of the sun pervades the world. Already, in Moses and the prophets, we find allusions both to the extension of the true religion to the heathen and to the hardness of the chosen people. [Thus the truths which I now teach and the reasons for them are not new, but old, and should have been understood and appreciated by the Jewish people.]

CHAPTER XI.

(1-4) That God has not utterly cast off the Jewish people from his favor I am myself a living evidence. Remember that, as in former times when the nation seemed lost in idolatry and sin a remnant was still left who remained true to God, (5-10) just so now there is, in accordance with the provisions of God's grace, a faithful few. The majority, seeking to uphold their own self-righteousness, have fallen a prey to moral hardening, but some have accepted the terms of God's purpose of grace. To the others we might apply the Old Testament language in which the prophets describe the obduracy of the faithless. (11, 12) But even the lapse of the nation as a whole will not be permanent. By rejecting the Messiah they have occasioned his earlier and fuller proclamation to the heathen who, by accepting him, will prove to the Jews what they have lost by not doing so. The Jews will thus be stimulated, by the example of the Gentiles and by the blessings which the heathen will be seen to enjoy, to accept Christ also. If a benefit resulted to the Gentiles from the Jews' lapse, how much greater a blessing will flow from the recovery of the Jews to the Messianic kingdom which the conversion of the heathen will facilitate!

(13-16) I am writing to a Gentile church. As the messenger of the gospel to Gentiles it will be seen that I am acting within the true scope of my office in pointing out the bearing of the Jews' fall upon the heathen world. Certainly if God could thus overrule their fall for good, he surely could make their conversion a yet greater good, and this is that for which I hope, for the nation is still holy unto God—his peculiar possession. (17, 18) But you Gentiles, whose entrance into the Messianic kingdom the fall of the Jews has facilitated, should not conclude that this was due to some merit of yours and so fall into pride and boasting over the Jews. Remember that the ancient theocracy is still the basis of the Messianic kingdom. (19-21) Do not therefore imagine that it was favoritism on God's part for you which led him to reject the Jews in order to receive you. He will reject you as surely if you, like the Jews, become unfaithful to him. Be humble, then, and beware lest you repeat their sad history.

(22-24) In these dispensations we behold at once God's leniency and his severity; to those who have been true to him he has been very gracious; to the disobedient he has been severe. If now he would graciously receive you Gentiles upon faith, how much more will he take back into his favor his peculiar people when they shall forsake their disobedience.

(25-27) Consider well these providential dispensations, nor presume to criticise or explain them. In God's wisdom, a partial and temporary fall of Israel has been permitted, but, at last, the nation as a whole shall be saved and the hopes of future good which her prophets express be realized. (28-32) The displeasure of God at the Jews' inured to your benefit, but for the sake of the founders of the nation his ancient people shall still be the object of

God's favor. God's purpose in the choice of the nation shall not finally miscarry, for as the Jews' lapse occasioned your speedier reception, so shall the divine favor bestowed upon you be the means, in turn, of hastening their recovery. God's purpose in the hardening and rejection of both classes (Jews and Gentiles) is subordinate to his purpose to make both the object of his mercy.

(33-36) How profound are these mysteries of God's providence and government. We cannot explain them. No man can penetrate his secrets, as the Scriptures say, for he is himself at once the source, the means, and the end of all things; as such let us render him all praise!

CHAPTER XII.

(1, 2) By appeal to God's goodness to you, brethren, I urge you to consecrate yourselves, body and mind, to his service,—the true, real spiritual service of the heart,—so that you may prove in experience the blessedness of doing his holy will. (3) This service you can only accomplish in the spirit of humility and soberness which is inspired and regulated by faith. (4-8) We have various gifts of faith, as the different parts of the body have various functions; let us exercise them all with faithfulness, remembering that unless we are guided by trust in Christ in so doing we shall fall into self-righteousness and vanity. (9-16) Let us diligently practice the various Christian virtues, of which love is the chief, and whose highest exercise is seen in kindness, sympathy, and humility. (17-21) This temper will prevent the spirit of revenge, and enable us to dwell peaceably with mankind. Remember that God will requite wrongs done; do not seek to forestall his judgment; treat foes with kindness; you will so best lead them to remorse and repentance, and will conquer their malignity by love.

CHAPTER XIII.

(1-3) We must obey the civil power, for it is a divinely ordained agency for the punishment of wrong-doing and for the commendation of well-doing. (4, 5) Only if we do evil have we anything to fear from the state. In that case we shall fall under its just and certain penalties. Therefore let us obey, not from fear only, but because obedience is right. (6, 7) The right of the state to obedience involves its right to levy taxes; render, therefore, to the different authorities the dues which they have a right to exact. (8-10) Pay, I say, all debts, except the debt of love. That is a perpetual obligation since it is the essence of the whole divine law which never relaxes its demands upon us. (11-14) To the duties of love I would, then, exhort you. The time of our redemption draws near; let us devote ourselves to deeds of goodness and not to works of vice.

CHAPTER XIV.

(1) Receive to Christian fellowship such as have doubts and scruples as to certain courses of action,—in themselves unessential,—but not with a view to making such scruples objects of special attention and judgment. (2-4) An example of such scruples is found in the case of one who refrains from eating meat. Let not him and the one who has no such scruple judge one another, since God accepts both. Both are Christ's servants, and it is his to approve or disapprove them. (5, 6) Another example is found in one who still holds by the Jewish sacred days. Both those who do this and those who do not are moved by conscientious conviction for the Lord's service. Let them not judge one another. (7-9) So in general we must carefully regard the feelings and convictions of others. Whatever we do we must do in the spirit of service to our Master who both died and rose that he might be the Lord of us all. (10-12) Why, then, judge one another? God alone is judge; all must bow to him, not to each other. Each must stand for himself before *God's* judgment—not that of other men.

(13) Whatever judgments, then, we pass in regard to our Christian brethren, let us by all means pass this one, that we ought not to hinder their religious life.

(14, 15) The man who has no such scruples as I have named is, no doubt, theoretically right. He has all the *rights* which he claims, but love may require him, in certain cases, to forego their exercise. Otherwise he may, by his failure to apply the Christian law of love, injure those whom Christ has so greatly loved as to die for them. (16, 17) Try to keep the Christian fame of your church without reproach by avoiding all such disputes with their unhappy consequences, for religion does not consist in the maintenance, on either side, of such points of difference, but of an inner spiritual life.. (18, 19) He who lives that life is approved of God; therefore seek to promote harmony and to build up Christian character in others. (20-23) Such "rights" as I have named yield to the higher obligations of Christian helpfulness; cherish strong convictions of such rights, if you will, but do not try to impose them upon those who cannot admit or accept them. Fortunate, indeed, is the man who in such matters has no scruple as to the course which he decides to pursue, for, of course, those who are in doubt about their *right* to act as they do must be self-condemned because they are not acting with the full consent of conscience, and one sins against his own moral nature when he does, in such cases, what his conscience is not clear in approving.

CHAPTER XV.

(1-3) It accords with the spirit of Christ, as shown in his earthly life, to show a kindly and concessive feeling for the weak and hesitating. His was a life of reproach rather than of self-gratification. (4) The picture of the

suffering Messiah found in the Old Testament was given for our instruction, that we, steadfastly following his example and cultivating his spirit, might have the hope of future blessedness with him in his kingdom. (5, 6) May God give us a spirit of harmony, so that we may unitedly honor him. (7-13) Be therefore considerate and helpful to one another, for Christ has made all, without distinction, the object of his love—the Jews, according to God's ancient promises, and the Gentiles, for his mercy's sake. Let all alike praise the Messiah, as the psalmist says; let all acknowledge him as the true Davidic King of whom Isaiah prophesied, and may you all find peace in trusting him and hope in the inspiration of the Holy Spirit.

(14-16) I am indeed confident of your sincerity, spirituality, and disposition to aid one another. It was that you might be even more perfect in this regard that I have in some expressions very frankly reminded you of your duty—in accordance with my commission to promote the gospel among the Gentiles. (17-19) Let me not speak, however, of what *I* have done for you or others; Christ has rather done it through me by giving me strength and inspiration, enabling me to carry the gospel from its starting-point in Jerusalem to the remote province of Illyricum. (20-21) In all this labor I made it a point of honor not to work where others were working, but to go to the outlying regions, where the gospel had not yet been carried.

(22-25) The greatness of my task has prevented me from coming to Rome, but now that my work in the regions named is finished, I hope to fulfil the hope of many years, to come to Rome. I want to travel by way of your city when I go to Spain. (26-28) Meantime I must make a journey to Jerusalem to carry up thither the contribution of the Macedonian and Achaian churches to the poor members of the mother-church—a gift which fittingly recognizes the indebtedness of the Gentile churches to the primitive Jerusalem church for a knowledge of the gospel.

(29-33) I am confident that when I come I shall be provided with the power to help and strengthen you. Pray earnestly for me that I may suffer no harm at the hands of the Judaizing opponents of the gospel in Judea; that my mission thither may fully accomplish its end, and that, this done, I may come and find spiritual refreshment among you. Meantime and always may the divine presence, the true source of peace, be yours!¹

¹Chapter XVI consists so largely of personal references that it did not seem practicable, as it did not seem necessary, to try to paraphrase it.

Work and Workers.

PROFESSOR SANDAY, in conjunction with Mr. Willoughby C. Allen, has undertaken the preparation of a scientific *Synopsis of the Gospels in Greek*, including the fourth gospel. We may hope in this work to have a Greek synopsis of the four gospels for general class room and Bible class use.

A NEW edition, the third, of Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1896) has been begun under the editorship of Professor Albert Hauck, of Leipzig. The first part of this enlarged and improved edition has appeared, extending to the article on "Aberglaube." The whole work will consist of 180 parts, to appear in double numbers of 160 pages each. Thus revised the Herzog will continue in its great influence and usefulness.

THE Department of Biblical Literature and History at Brown University, Providence, R. I., has been developed to include (1) Semitics, (2) New Testament Greek, (3) Biblical Literature and History in English. During the past year 125 students have taken courses in this department, members of the junior, senior or graduate schools. In addition, a Biblical Research Club, composed of those most interested in biblical questions, held monthly meetings, at which addresses were given by Professor F. K. Sanders, of Yale University, and others, on "Theories of Revelation," "Modern Methods of Biblical Interpretation," "The Student's Attitude toward the Bible," and "Present Tendencies of Biblical Criticism." The department is under the vigorous and efficient control of Professor Charles F. Kent, Ph.D., who assumed charge a year ago, having come from The University of Chicago to take up this important work. The official announcement of the department for the present year is as follows:

The announcements from the various publishing houses promise great things for the coming year in the way of new books for the student of the Bible and of church history. Messrs. T. and T. Clark of Edinburgh, for whom Chas. Scribner's Sons are the American importers, announce a new volume in the International Critical Commentary series, the *Commentary on St. Luke's Gospel*, by Alfred Plummer, M.A., D.D., Master of University College, Durham, to appear early in November. Three new volumes also are promised in the International Theological Library, first among which may be mentioned the work upon *The Apostolic Church* by Professor Arthur C. McGiffert, of Union Theological Seminary, New York City. It is to be hoped that this volume will be issued in time for its use from the first of the year in

connection with the International Sunday School Lessons in the Book of Acts. The other two volumes are *Christian Institutions*, by Professor A. V. G. Allen, D.D., of the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass.; and *The Christian Pastor*, by Dr. Washington Gladden. Then, too, we are told to expect the publication of the new *Concordance to the Greek Testament* which was announced eighteen months ago to be in course of preparation by W. F. Moulton, D.D., and A. S. Geden, M.A. (see BIBLICAL WORLD, April, 1895, Vol. V, pp. 307, 8), and which we greatly need. In addition to these works which are of especial importance, there is to be *The Hope of Israel; a Review of the Argument from Prophecy*, by Rev. F. H. Woods, presumably the publication in book form of the excellent articles on the subject of prophecy which appeared a year ago in the *Expository Times*; a supplementary volume of the *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, containing MSS. dating from the third century which have been discovered since the completion of the Ante-Nicene Library, namely, the Gospel of Peter, the Apocalypse of Peter, the Testament of Abraham, the Narrative of Zosimus, the Diatessaron of Tatian, the Apology of Aristides, the Epistles of Clement, the Apocalypse of the Virgin and Sedrach, the Acts of Xantippe and Polyxena, and Origen's Commentary on St. Matthew and St. John—surely a valuable addition to our literature from that early time in church history; *The Prophecies of Jesus Christ relating to His Death, Resurrection and Second Coming, and their Fulfillment*, by Dr. P. P. Schwartzkopff, Professor in Göttingen University, the first part of a very large work the publication of which began recently in Germany; and last of all in time, though among the first in importance, the publishers say they hope to issue by the end of the year the first volume of the eagerly anticipated new *Dictionary of the Bible* (see BIBLICAL WORLD, April 1896, Vol. VII, pp. 300, 1).

The most important announcement made by Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton for the coming season is their projection of *The Expositor's Greek Testament*, to be edited by Dr. Robertson Nicoll, who carried through so successfully the series of the *Expositor's Bible*. This new work, which will consist of four volumes covering the entire New Testament, is designed to be a successor to Alford's *Greek Testament*, which in its day was a work of very great value and usefulness, but has now become antiquated by the advance of learning and scholarship. The Expositor's Greek Testament will contain the Greek text with notes and full critical apparatus, and the contributors will include the most eminent biblical scholars in England. The first volume, which will contain 1000 pages and is promised this year, will contain the *Synoptic Gospels* by Professor A. B. Bruce, D.D., and the *Gospel of John* by Professor Marcus Dods, D.D. The remaining three volumes will be published within the next four years. The price of each volume is to be 28s, but for those who subscribe in advance the price for two volumes will be 30s. Certainly the work will have a large sale, for it will at once become indispensable to every thorough student of the New Testament.

The Council of Seventy.

PRESIDENT GEO. S. BURROUGHS, of Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Ind., will give a series of lectures at Lane Theological Seminary in November. His subject will be "Newly Discovered Manuscripts." He will also conduct a Biblical Institute at the Indiana State Normal School, taking for his subject "The Acts of the Apostles." In addition to these, he will present a series of studies in the Prophecies of Isaiah in connection with the State Y. M. C. A. Convention to be held in November.

Professor D. A. McClenahan, of the United Presbyterian Theological Seminary at Allegheny, delivered the opening address before the students of that institution. He spoke at length upon the philanthropic reforms of the last half century as reflecting the theology of the present age.

Dr. Herbert L. Willett, of The University of Chicago, conducted a Biblical Institute at the University of Michigan, at Ann Arbor, Mich., in October. The institute was held under the auspices of the Bible Chair. Dr. Willett will spend several weeks during January, February, and March at the University of Virginia, where a Bible Chair is to be established, in connection with which Dr. Willett is the first lecturer.

Dr. C. F. Kent, of Brown University, will sail for Europe December 8. He will spend eight months in Germany, and will be occupied with special study and research in the Semitic languages, especially the Assyrian and Syriac. Dr. Kent is at present conducting, in the city of Providence, a University Extension class in Hebrew history numbering seventy-five students.

Professor F. K. Sanders, of Yale University, and Dr. C. F. Kent will conduct a Biblical Institute at Wellesley College November 14 and 15. The work will be devoted to the Messianic ideals of the Hebrew prophets.

The following members of the council are among those who will contribute articles or reviews to the first number of the *American Journal of Theology*, in 1897: Professor Chas. Horswell, Garrett Biblical Institute; Professor Willis J. Beecher, Auburn Theological Seminary; Professor Sylvester Burnham, Colgate University; Professor Edw. L. Curtis, Yale University; Professor Samuel Ives Curtiss, Chicago Theological Seminary; Professor O. H. Gates, Oberlin Theological Seminary; Professor D. A. McClenahan, United Presbyterian Seminary, Allegheny; Professor Ira M. Price, The University of Chicago; Professor Geo. H. Gilbert, Chicago Theological Seminary; Professor Ernest D. Burton, The University of Chicago; Professor Charles F. Bradley, Garrett Biblical Institute; Professor M. W. Jacobus, Hartford

Theological Seminary; Professor Shailer Mathews, The University of Chicago; Professor James S. Riggs, Auburn Theological Seminary; Dr. J. H. Ropes, Harvard University; Professor C. J. H. Ropes, Bangor Theological Seminary; Dr. Clyde M. Votaw, The University of Chicago; Professor Geo. S. Goodspeed, The University of Chicago; Dr. James H. Breasted, The University of Chicago; Dr. John H. Barrows, The University of Chicago; Professor Geo. B. Foster, The University of Chicago; Professor E. T. Harper, Chicago Theological Seminary; President Chas. J. Little, Garrett Biblical Institute; Professor W. D. MacKenzie, Chicago Theological Seminary; Professor Andrew C. Zenos, McCormick Theological Seminary.

Professor R. R. Lloyd, of the Pacific Theological Seminary, is making plans for the introduction of the biblical work of the American Institute in connection with the assemblies and conventions on the California coast in the summer of 1897.

At the October meeting of the Senate of the Council the first annual meeting was discussed. It was decided to hold this meeting in Chicago, December 11 and 12. A full programme will be published next month. Provision will be made for conferences by the members of each chamber where questions of practical interest to the biblical teacher will be discussed. A general meeting at which a distinguished speaker will deliver the annual address, and an annual dinner are features of the programme.

The topics for discussion suggested to members of the Reading Guild during November are as follows:

1. To what extent was David's ideal of Jehovah an advance upon that of Moses?

2. The causes and the effects of the division of the kingdom from a political and sociological point of view?

The work of the Institute in the college field is of special interest at this time of year when college work in all lines is fresh and vigorous. The college Institute is no longer a new thing. It has been found practical and helpful in an increasing number of cases yearly. The following specimen programmes taken from the new announcement will be interesting in this connection:

1. *The Inspired Teachers of Israel.*

- 1) The Prophets. 2) The Wise. 3) The Priesthood. 4) The Son of Man. 5) The Apostles.

A study of the individualities, methods, aims, work, and characteristic teachings of each class. It furnishes a bird's-eye view of the whole Bible.

2. *The Beginnings of Christianity.*

- 1) The World's Preparation for Christianity. 2) Judaism and Christianity. 3) Peter and Jewish Christianity. 4) Paul and Gentile Christianity.

5) John and Universal Christianity. 6) The First Century of Christian History.

3. *The Kingdom of David and Solomon.*

1) The History Preparatory to Solomon's Reign. 2) The Life and Times of Solomon. 3) Proverbs and the Song of Songs: their contributions to the history of the times. 4) Jerusalem and the Temple (illustrated lecture). 5) The Significance of David and Solomon in Religious History.

4. *The Bible as Literature.*

1) The Bible a true Literature: its classification and historic development. 2) The Historical Literature of the Bible. 3) The Prophetic Literature. 4) The Wisdom Literature. 5) The Legal Literature. 6) The Gospels. 7, 8) The Epistles. 9) The Apocalyptic Writings. 10) The Value of the Study of the Bible from a Literary standpoint.

5. *Prophets and Prophecy.*

1) General characteristics of Hebrew Prophecy. 2) Prophecy of the Past—the Historians. 3) Prophecy of the Present—the Religious Statesmen. 4) Prophecy of the Future—the Seers. 5) Periods of Prophecy. 6) The Messianic Prophecies.

6. *The Life and Work of the Christ.*

1) The Gospel Records of his Life. 2) The Active Ministry of Jesus. 3) The Teachings of Jesus. 4) The Miracles of Jesus. 5) The Programme of Jesus and its Fulfilment.

7. *The Life and Work of Paul.*

1) The Genesis of Paul. 2) The Journeys of the Missionary. 3) The Four Groups of Letters. 4) Paul's Place in Religious History. 5) The Character of Paul.

The instructors who conduct these institutes are drawn largely from the Council of Seventy.

Names of candidates for the college prize examinations to be held in March are coming in rapidly.

The Kansas Bible Institute, an organization which is founded by members of the faculty of Washburn College, Topeka, Kan., for the spread of biblical knowledge among the people of Kansas has affiliated itself with the American Institute in all its correspondence work. It announces the courses and its students receive instruction through the American Institute. The Wesleyan University of Warrenton, Mo., has made a similar arrangement for its correspondence students.

College associations are finding the Outline Courses acceptable and interesting.

The question of the study of the Bible in college will furnish one of the important discussions to take place at the annual meeting.

Exploration and Discovery.

"THE PLACE CALLED CALVARY, WHERE THEY CRUCIFIED HIM."¹

Two hundred yards outside the Damascus gate of Jerusalem there is an isolated, white limestone knoll, in contour like the crown of the head and about sixty feet high. It contains in its perpendicular face the most remarkable resemblance to a skull. The two eyeless sockets, the overhanging forehead, the lines of the nose, the mouth, and chin will be plainly seen in the photograph. It is also concave, and the same color as a skull.

On this bare, rounded knoll our Lord expired with that great cry which indicated cardiac rupture,

"That agonizing cry affrighted nature shook to hear."

A mighty earthquake upheaved the solid earth and split this very rock asunder. To the right of the skull the face of the cliff is oddly riven from top to bottom as shown in the picture. The sides of this chasm correspond to each other, showing it was caused by the shock of an earthquake.

On the summit of Golgotha there is a great pit heaped over with stones (where the staff stands in picture). It was customary to bury the crucified at the foot of the cross. This pit is filled with the skeletons and bones of criminals who, from time immemorial, have been crucified and stoned. It is still known by its ancient name, "The Place of Stoning." The bodies of criminals are still hurled into that same pit. At such times the stench is unbearable.

In springtime Calvary is carpeted with scarlet anemones and the Calvary flower, which appear like drops of blood covering the white limestone.

At the bottom of the western cliff there is a large garden with a very ancient well. Where it touches the foot of the cliff, six feet below the surface, the rock-hewn sepulcher of our Lord has been discovered. While I was in Palestine George Müller, the patriarch of faith, was led to excavate and recover the immortal tomb. Since then, its identity having been considered established, an English association, headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and five other bishops, secured the garden, with the interior of the sepulcher, for \$15,000. In May 1896 over \$13,000 of this had been subscribed.

There is now a general consensus of agreement that this is the true Calvary. It alone fulfils the numerous and precise descriptions and the point of the compass "northward" indicated by the Scriptures.

WM. BRYMAN RIDGES.

¹ See frontispiece.

Few places in Judea awaken more memories of Jesus than El-'Azariyeh, the miserable little Mussulman town that marks the site of Bethany. It consists today of about forty rude hovels, but boasts of various buildings which, were their identification possible, would be sacred indeed. There one may still be shown the house of Simon the leper and the house (or houses!) of Mary and Martha. But more sacred than these—at least to the Moslems



TOMB OF LAZARUS

who regard Lazarus as a saint—is the tomb of Lazarus, the entrance to which is represented in the cut. This entrance leads to a flight of twenty-four stairs, cut in the solid rock, which in turn lead down to a small square chamber, not altogether filled with the sweetest odors, which is used as a place of prayer by Christians and Moslems alike. Thence a few steps lead to a still lower chamber that is said to have been that in which Lazarus was buried.

Although the construction of this chamber makes against its having been made during the first century as a Jewish tomb, the site is evidently ancient, and has at least this in its favor: it is near Bethany and likely enough near where the miracle was performed. But further than this we can hardly argue that this ancient traditional site is the real tomb from which Lazarus came forth.

Notes and Opinions.

“The Son of Man hath not where to lay his head.” — That this passage is not to be taken in a literal physical sense is evident from what we know as to Jesus’ circumstances during the years of his public ministry. He probably had a home in Capernaum, and he certainly had the necessary means for providing for himself and his disciples in his journeys of preaching here and there in Palestine. That the words should refer simply to the fact that his mission required him to be constantly going about, instead of having a permanent place of residence, has been regarded as the best explanation at hand but not an altogether satisfactory one. Professor Bruce, in the *Expositor* for September, suggests another interpretation of the words of Jesus here which invites careful consideration: “When we remember to whom Jesus is speaking [a scribe, Matt. 8:19, 20], it becomes probable that the saying, “Foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have lodging places, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head,” is to be taken parabolically. That is to say, it refers to Christ’s spiritual situation as one who has no home for his soul in the religion of the time, rather than to his physical condition as one at the moment without any certain dwelling-place. Though this view suggested itself to my mind only recently, I confess that I have always felt a certain measure of dissatisfaction with the current conception of our Lord’s meaning. I have never been able to see any special aptitude of the saying so understood to the case of the person addressed, nor have I been able to get rid of the feeling, that the word, taken in the literal sense, is not without a certain tone of exaggerated sentiment according ill with the known character of Jesus. There does not seem to have been any great hardship in the physical aspect of the life of our Lord and his disciples, such as might scare away any one the least inclined to disciple life. And suppose this aspirant had been admitted to the ranks of discipleship, would he not have been one more added to the number of followers possessing means sufficient to make the daily life of the Jesus-circle not without a due measure of comfort? On these grounds the suggestion that the saying about the foxes and the birds is to be interpreted parabolically came to my mind as a relief. Looked at in this light, it is seen to be very true and very apposite. How thoroughly true that Jesus was spiritually an alien, without a home in the religion of the time. Recall all that quite probably had happened before this incident took place: the charge of blasphemy in connection with the healing of the palsied man; the offense taken at the festive meeting with the publicans, and the scandalous

charges that grew out of that event ; the numerous conflicts respecting Sabbath-keeping, fasting, ritual ablutions, and the like ; the infamous suggestion that the cure of demoniacs was wrought by the aid of Beelzebub ; and so on. If the whole, or even a part, of these experiences lay behind him when he uttered this word, with what truth and pathos Jesus might say, 'The foxes and the birds of the air are better off than I am, so far as a home for the soul is concerned.' Then with what point and pungency he might say this to a *scribe* ! For was it not the class the aspirant belonged to that made him homeless ? Whether viewed as an excuse for reluctance to receive him as a disciple, or as a summons to deliberate consideration of what was involved in the step he was proposing to take, the word was altogether seasonable. In the one case it meant, 'You need not wonder if I give not a prompt, warm welcome to *you*, remembering all that has passed between me and the class you belong to.' In the other case it means, 'Consider how it is with me. I am a religious outlaw — suspected, hated ; a fugitive from those who seek my life. Are you really able to break with your class in opinion, feeling, and interest, and to bear the obloquy and ill-will that will inevitably come upon you as my disciple ?' "



ANGEL, BY MELOZZO DA FORLÌ

Book Reviews.

The Mind of the Master. By JOHN WATSON, D.D. (Ian Maclaren). New York : Dodd, Mead & Co., 1896. Pp. viii+338. Price \$1.50.

This book is fresh with the air of Drumtochty—that parish of “scandalous health.” There comes also with it a breath from a more distant “mountain” where long ago the Master made his demand for a righteousness exceeding that of the Scribes and Pharisees. One needs but to read the list of chapters to get a whiff from these invigorating uplands, and eagerly anticipates such themes as, Jesus the Supreme Teacher, The Sovereignty of Character Devotion to a Person the Dynamic of Religion, Fatherhood the Final Idea of God, The Kingdom of God.

Dr. Watson is in line with the recent revival of special interest in the teaching of Jesus, of which the most significant production as yet is Wendt's great treatise. His book, however, does not invite comparison with that or with less pretentious works, being much more popular and avowedly hortatory in its method. While there is no direct evidence of the sermon form, there is constant evidence of the preacher—style, point of view, and treatment of material being those of the orator rather than the professional student. If this mode of procedure needed any apology, the author has provided his own in the declaration that “we criticise every other teacher : we have an intuition of Jesus. He is not a subject of study, he is a revelation to the soul—that or nothing.” Dr. Watson aims not so much at detailing the contents of Jesus' teachings as at so presenting his teaching as to persuade men to acknowledge his supremacy.

The style is what we should expect from him who has introduced us to Jamie Soutar, and Burnbrae, and Marget Howe, and the Doctor,—thoroughly alive, warm with enthusiasm, keenly epigrammatic. How much that we all wish to express is given us in sentences like these : “Jesus is full of surprises, but they are all the surprises of perfection ;” “the ‘I’ that sounds from every sentence of the teaching of Jesus is not egotism ; it is deity ;” “Jesus found religion a rite ; he left it a passion ;” “The kingdom of God can only rule over willing hearts ; it has no helots within its borders.” In respect of contents the most satisfactory part of the book is the chapter on Fatherhood the Final Idea of God. The author has grasped this fundamental thought of the Master and handles with proper vigor the notion “that Jesus had an esoteric word for his intimates, and an exoteric for the people, saying Father to John, and Judge to the publicans.” He also shows how foreign to Jesus' idea is the

sickly sentimentality which forgets or ignores that God is the "Holy Father," whose name is to be hallowed. The author's "passion for Jesus" which breathes through this chapter as well as the whole book, has its chief expression in the chapters on the Dynamic of Religion, and Jesus the Supreme Teacher. He has only severe words for "the idealizing criticism which evaporates the person of Christ in his teaching, and while it may leave us a master certainly denies us a Lord." These two chapters, which are not successive in the author's arrangement, should be read together if a somewhat partial impression is not to be carried away from the emphasis on Christ as a Teacher. Carefulness and fulness of grasp characterize the last chapter, that on the Kingdom of God. Its excellence is in its clear setting forth of Christ's twofold conception of a kingdom already present in the hearts that love God, and a kingdom awaiting its consummation; and in its grasp of the method of the kingdom—"The reformer, who has his own function and is to be heartily commended, approaches humanity from the outside and proceeds by machinery; Jesus approaches humanity from the inside and proceeds by influence." "He was not content to change men's circumstances, he dared to attempt something higher—to change their souls."

It is distasteful where so much is fair and strong to call attention to blemishes, and were there only those incident to the epigrammatic style and hortatory method they might be passed unnoticed. Sometimes, however, Dr. Watson has suffered his dislike for certain phases of historic Christianity to lead to a misrepresentation or a misapprehension of apostolic teachings. This is most noticeable in his arraignment of Paul for his substitution of the conception of the church for Jesus' preferable conception of the kingdom of God. Dr. Watson has a not unreasonable dislike for ecclesiasticism. But it is not fair to hurl it at Paul. He is not the father of ecclesiasticism. Had our author kept in mind his own earlier statement—"The church is to the kingdom what the electric current is to electricity. It is the kingdom organized for worship and aggression"—would he have expressed himself so unqualifiedly as he has in the last chapter? The idea of the church ought not to be held answerable for later perversions of it. A like lack of carefulness of statement appears in the otherwise most helpful chapter on Jesus the Supreme Teacher. Dr. Watson pleads for ethical rather than doctrinal "creeds" as conditions of church membership. It is possible, however, to have and make profitable use of intellectual confessions of faith without making subscription to them a condition of reception into the church. That Christians often have made the mistake of setting the creed as doorkeeper in the house of God does not warrant disparagement of the creeds but only of this use of them.

To us the least satisfactory chapter in the book is that on the Culture of the Cross. The title tells the whole story. And as far as it goes it is a true story. We must never forget that Christ is said to have "learned obedience by the things which he suffered," having been made "perfect through suffer-

ings." Nor may it be forgotten that Jesus commanded his disciples to take up the cross daily. The culture of the cross is a profound necessity for our attainment of any fulness of character. But when Dr. Watson asks us to believe that suffering is an essential feature of the highest life, he makes what seems to us an unwarrantable identification of suffering and self-sacrifice, which last is essential to fullest life, but *may* be the highest joy. Moreover, in his exclusive reference to this educational aspect of Christ's sufferings he leaves unconsidered precisely the largest suggestions of Jesus for the interpretation of his cross—"This is my blood of the covenant, which is shed for many unto remission of sins," the life given "a ransom for many," the Good Shepherd "layeth down his life, for the sheep"—in which we seem to see "salvation join issue with death." This chapter is not so satisfactory as Dr. Watson's own beautiful meditation on the Shadow of the Cross in his volume *The Upper Room*.

It is not strange that the book has met with some severe treatment at the hands of the critics, for it invites quarrel alike with dogmatists and with biblical theology. But it is a refreshing book and does not a little to quicken that "passion for Jesus" which Dr. Watson justly feels to be a need of our religious life.

R. R.

With Open Face, or Jesus Mirrored in Matthew, Mark and Luke. By ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCE, D.D., Professor of New Testament Exegesis in the Free Church College, Glasgow, author of *The Kingdom of God*, *The Training of the Twelve*, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, etc. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Pp. vi + 267.

It often happens that the by-products of the literary workshop are quite as valuable as its masterpieces. Authorship is often attended with more or less mental uncertainty which has disappeared by the time the work has been completed. More than that, the views which of necessity must be to a large extent the outcome of authorship are more distinct and often more intense when one's labor is completed. It is, therefore, often the case that in popular sketches of great scholars we get the core and soul of their thinking.

It is with something of this feeling that one rises from reading this latest work of Professor Bruce. Nine of its chapters have already appeared in the *Expositor*, and are familiar to the readers of that excellent journal, but collected they represent the views of their author in remarkably distinct and usable form. The titles of some of the chapters are themselves indices of the thought of the book, such as the Prophetic Picture of Matthew, the Realistic Picture of Mark, the Idealistic Picture of Luke, the Escapes of Jesus.

With one chapter, that upon "Your Father Which is in Heaven," we find ourselves in some difficulty. The general position of Professor Bruce in

regard to the universal Fatherhood of God seems certainly a postulate of Christianity. Men are not beasts, they are created in God's image. At the same time it is difficult by an impartial exegesis to discover that Jesus often, if ever, speaks of God as the universal Father. With that wonderful literary insight that characterizes all his teaching, he seems to have reserved the most sacred words of this life to express the most sacred relations of the spiritual life. In fact, Professor Bruce does not attempt any severe exegetical support of his view, but rather throws himself back upon the instincts of the human race. With this we can agree, but hesitate to apply words used in the narrower and intense sense to relations more general.

The last chapter of the book is of special interest in that it constitutes a Christian primer; in other words, it is a catechism of 123 questions and answers upon the life of Jesus, which Professor Bruce hopes will prove of service to those who attempt to teach the young in regard to the life of our Lord. This last chapter is evidently a favorite of the author, as appears from the prefatory note in which it is declared to be the outcome of a desire of years and in which also a partial promise is made that in case it is well received a larger catechism on a similar plan may be attempted hereafter. Whether or not it is well received, such a catechism by Professor Bruce is a thing to be desired. Anything which will bring his broad and tolerant spirit as well as his accurate and incisive knowledge of the synoptists into the hands of the people at large would be most gratefully welcomed. Of all the books upon the life of Jesus which have appeared during the last few months we would especially urge clergymen to read this fresh study in the synoptic gospels, in which there is not only instruction but inspiration. S. M.

The Quotations of the New Testament from the Old, Considered in the Light of General Literature. By FRANKLIN JOHNSON, D.D., Professor in The University of Chicago. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. Pp. xix+409. Price \$2.00.

The use of the Old Testament by the writers of the New is a subject which has always attracted the most minute attention of scholars. The matter which this volume handles can by no means therefore be termed unconsidered. Yet the work has a peculiar interest in that it is an attempt—to all intents and purposes the first—"to compare the quotations of the New Testament from the Old with those of general literature." The preparations made by the author for so far reaching a task are evident upon every page. Three hundred and two books are referred to or quoted, while one hundred and fifty-three authors are directly quoted and two hundred and thirteen are referred to. In many cases quotations from the classical writers—especially in those from Homer, a subject to which the author seems to have given special attention—are given both in translation and in the original.

The general purpose of the book is to meet the eleven chief difficulties which have been found with the quotations made by the New Testament writers from the Old: the quotations from the Septuagint, from memory, fragmentary quotations, exegetical paraphrases, composite quotations, quotations of substances, allegorizing, quotations by sound, double reference, theological reasoning, rabbinic interpretation. Each one of these difficulties is assigned a special chapter and its treatment varies in length and distinctness according to the need of the texts which are considered. The method consists in showing that the quotations of the New Testament, so far from being outside the ordinary laws of literature, are in fullest accord with such laws. In the development of this general position the author brings together his quotations from literature of all times and especially of the first century and shows that the phenomena which characterize them are thus to be found in the use of the Old Testament by writers of the New. As an illustration of this method we would especially commend as most satisfactory the chapter upon Quotation by Sound. The author has here brought together an extraordinary amount of material illustrating the general tendency of literary writers of all times to embellish or to enforce their argument and appeal by the use of words totally divorced from their original context and in a sense quite different from that intended by their authors.

The excellencies of the work are numerous. There is everywhere present a spirit of fairness, and the reader is made to feel that the conclusions reached are not those of undigested thinking but rather the outcome of wide reading and patient consideration. We would especially commend the common sense seen in the remark upon page 55 in regard to the endeavor to make quotations always prove something. We would also commend to those of our brethren who fear test the ark of inspiration may be overturned during its present rough journeyings, the considerations upon verbal inaccuracy upon page 61. There is also valuable material upon rabbinic interpretation—a topic upon which light is especially to be desired. We could have wished, however in this chapter a larger treatment. One would expect that even so vigorous a mind as Paul's would have never quite escaped the habits induced by years of education. Such passages as Gal. 3:19; Acts 7:53; Heb. 2:2; 4:22-25; Matt. 22:31, 32; 1 Cor. 10:4; 2 Tim. 3:8; Jude 9 certainly suggest by either their quotations, allusions, or method, rabbinical influences. And notwithstanding the admirable treatment accorded the passage as a whole, one cannot feel that the author has quite made out his case with Gal. 3:15-18 so far as the word "seed" is concerned. Also in his treatment of the strange passage Gal. 4:21-31, while the author has correctly interpreted the participle *ἀλληγορούμενα* in the sense of "to treat allegorically" he hardly recognizes sufficiently the difference between Paul's use of the results of his method and such words as those of Dante and Bunyan.

And this introduces a question which concerns the value of the book's

method as a whole. Assuming that it can be proved that the New Testament writers used the Old in ways which may be paralleled by other writers—certainly a reasonable conclusion—are there not remaining still the two vital questions: 1. Did not Paul sometimes build arguments upon his quotations rather than use them simply as illustrations and rhetorical embellishments? 2. Does conformity with general literary usage justify the New Testament writers? In other words, what does the analogy between their usage by the Old Testament and the laws of literary quotation prove?

In regard to the first question, no man can hold that it is fair to quote another man in support of one's own view when the quotation in its original setting meant something quite different from that which it is now made to mean; and the author of this book would be among the first to assent to this proposition. Yet we cannot but feel that he has given too little space to the distinction between quotation for the sake of embellishment and quotation for the sake of argument. Certainly this distinction has not been altogether overlooked, and, as in the case of the chapter upon Allegory, its recognition has led to careful exegetical processes. Yet, after all allowance is made, the impression remains, that if a work like that of Professor Toy fails to make sufficient allowance for quotation for purely literary purposes, the one under consideration in its effort to correct this lack has leaned too far in the opposite direction.

As far as the second question is concerned, we suspect that the author will be charged by some with having proved too much and by others with having proved nothing. Most men are partisans, and the judicially conservative apologetics of this volume will hardly escape criticism. That its wealth of literary parallels is often illuminating, and that, more than any comparative study with which we are acquainted, it shows the essential humanness of the New Testament literary writers, cannot altogether blind one to the fact that it is not enough to show that the New Testament writers use Old Testament literature as men of today use any literature. If the men of today use literature incorrectly, the New Testament writers must use literature incorrectly. The question with which the Christian scholar of today is concerned is not one of mere literary analogy but of the legitimacy of the use of the Old Testament by Paul and the evangelists.

Yet whatever we may feel has been accomplished by the comparative method, the estimate of the value of this book must be high. For it is something more than a mere compilation of literary analogies. There is in it the most painstaking discussion of each quotation considered, and often this discussion meets the objections we have urged to the work's general thesis. Indeed, if we were to drop from the book all its wealth of literary research the remainder would itself be of value as an examination of the works of Kuenen, Döpke, and Toy. However much we may differ at times with certain of the explanations given of these New Testament texts, we cannot but

welcome most cordially such a book, not only for the breadth and clearness of its thought and for its encyclopædic learning, but for the light which it repeatedly throws upon some of the most troublesome problems in biblical study.

S. M.

The Student's Life of Jesus. By GEORGE HOLLEY GILBERT, Ph.D., D.D., Iowa Professor of New Testament Literature and Interpretation in Chicago Theological Seminary. Press of the Chicago Theological Seminary, Chicago. Pp. xi + 412.

The Life of Christ. By REV. LYMAN ABBOTT, D.D. An Aid to the Study of the Gospel History of Jesus Christ. The Bible Study Publishing Co., 21 Bromfield St., Boston, Mass. Pp. viii + 176.

The Life of the Lord Jesus. By MRS. LOUISE SEYMOUR HOUGHTON. An Aid to the Study of the Gospel History of Jesus Christ. The Bible Study Publishing Co., 21 Bromfield St., Boston, Mass. Pp. viii + 213.

These three books are classed together not because they are by any means of equal importance, but from the fact that they are expressions of the new spirit of biblical study which is increasingly centering itself about the person of our Lord.

Of the three, that by Professor Gilbert is incomparably superior; in fact, it is so good a book for students that it seems a pity that it is not in the hands of some regular publisher. Commencing with a criticism of the sources of the life of Christ in which, by the way, the author strangely enough seems to reject the general conclusions upon which it seems as if scholars generally were about to agree, the book goes on to a consideration of the fourth gospel and of the general point of view of supernaturalism. It would be difficult to find a presentation of the entire matter better adapted for the use of college students or of any student of the Bible who wishes something more than the ordinary pabulum of the Sunday school. In the chronological arrangement of the life of Jesus Professor Gilbert has adopted the tripaschal theory, and in a brief chapter has given us an admirable bird's-eye view of the entire ministry of Jesus. On certain questions where the synoptic account is duplicated, either by the synoptists themselves or by John, Professor Gilbert has adopted a position which, while perhaps best suited for the public for which the book is intended, is a little disappointing in its vagueness. It is, of course, never wise to express conviction beyond the evidence at one's command, and yet at the same time we could wish that the author had reached a definite conclusion in regard to whether or not there were two cleansings of the Temple as in the case of the rejection at Nazareth. In this latter case, while he does not attempt a critical explanation of the duplication of account, his argument from the internal probability seems conclusive. One excellent feature of the book is its subordination of the details

of Jesus' life to the essential features. Thus, in the arrangement of the crowded period of the Galilean ministry Professor Gilbert has so arranged his material that it is possible for the student to get some sense of progress in the life of Jesus.

Accordingly, while we cannot ascribe to the work anything like the position which should be given to such great works as Edersheim and Weiss, we can, nevertheless, confidently recommend it as the best handbook of the life of Jesus the student yet has at his command.

The other two books are of a different nature. They are intended rather as a sort of running commentary upon the so-called Blakeslee lessons. They are possessed of good qualities, but not sufficient good qualities to raise them above the ordinary level of first-class lesson helps. The chief value of each is the broad, liberal spirit which breathes through the studies, and the rapid but always sane homiletic turn given to the teaching of Jesus. If our Sunday schools could have more of this sort of teaching it would be far better for them. To anyone who wishes a book that combines brief exegesis with sensible and inspiring comment, we would recommend either of the two little volumes, of Dr. Abbott or Mrs. Houghton.

S. M.

History of the People of Israel: Period of Jewish Independence and Judea under Roman Rule. By ERNEST RENAN. Vol. V. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1895. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. \$2.50.

With this volume Renan completed the great work with which his name has been so eminently associated. In it he covers the time from the reign of Simon until the death of Herod I. It is a period which, probably more than any of those he has covered, is especially fitted to Renan's method of treatment. There is so much that is spectacular, the change from victory to defeat, the succession of conspiracies, the march of the Roman power are altogether so dramatic as to lend themselves readily to the vivacious style with which this generation of readers of theological works is so familiar. The period has another advantage in that it opens up few questions of criticism in which the attitude taken by Renan would be distasteful to many readers. That portion of the book which deals with the Jewish literature of the period is probably its least successful portion. Do the best he can, Renan cannot appreciate the Jewish spirit. His attempt to translate the passionate hopes of the Maccabean period, as well as the serene metaphysics of the Alexandrian school, into modern thought resembles the translation of Homer by a writer of society verses. Yet in none of his volumes has Renan given evidence of great reading or scholarship. He has handled much of the literature at first hand, and if it were not for his desire to preach, and to compress a philosophy into a succession of pregnant sentences, pages 261-354 would

have considerable value as a brief statement of Jewish thought of the period. As it is, it is hopelessly inferior to the volume of Schürer.

As the last volume of the author on the subject of Judaism and Christianity, it has considerable interest as containing Renan's final statement of belief (p. 356 *et seq.*). This view is not different from that with which he began his history of the *Origins of Christianity*. There is in it little of the sober, impartial search for historical fact which, despite their presuppositions, marks the works of Weizäcker and Harnack. On the contrary, there is the desire for the picturesque and the epigrammatic. Yet his fundamental view is admirable—as far as it goes. He is profoundly convinced, he says (p. 357), "that not only Jesus lived, but that he was great and noble—so great and noble that the world worships him, because the people with whom he was associated loved him so dearly." If this is an imperfect statement of the heart of Christianity, it is at least better than nothing. But New Testament scholarship is advancing so steadily from the ground which Renan thus occupies that as an expression of today's thinking it was anachronistic before it was written.

S. M.

LITERARY NOTES.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS have published a popular edition of *Villari: Life and Times of Savonarola* (\$2.50).

The seventh bound volume of the *Expository Times* has just appeared. We have had occasion to refer to this excellent journal repeatedly, but the appearance of this new volume calls for a special word of appreciation. While in some particulars hardly so scholarly, certainly not so technical as the *Expositor*, the *Expository Times* shows high editorial ability. There is no more readable magazine dealing with biblical topics, while its book reviews are as incisive as its editorials. (Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, \$2.50.)

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- | | |
|---|--|
| <p><i>Shadow and Substance.</i> An Exposition of Tabernacle Types. By Geo. C. Needham. (Philadelphia: Am. Bap. Pub. Soc., 1896, pp. 199.)</p> | <p><i>With Christ,</i> in the school of Prayer. By the Rev. Andrew Murray. (Chicago: F. H. Revell Co., 1895, pp. 274.)</p> |
| <p>\$0.50.</p> | |
| <p><i>Notes from My Bible.</i> From Genesis to Revelation. By D. L. Moody. (Chicago: F. H. Revell Co., 1895, pp. 236.)</p> | <p><i>Conflict and Conquest.</i> Experiences of Father Flynn. By Geo. C. Needham. (Philadelphia: Am. Bap. Pub. Soc., 1896, pp. 123.)</p> |
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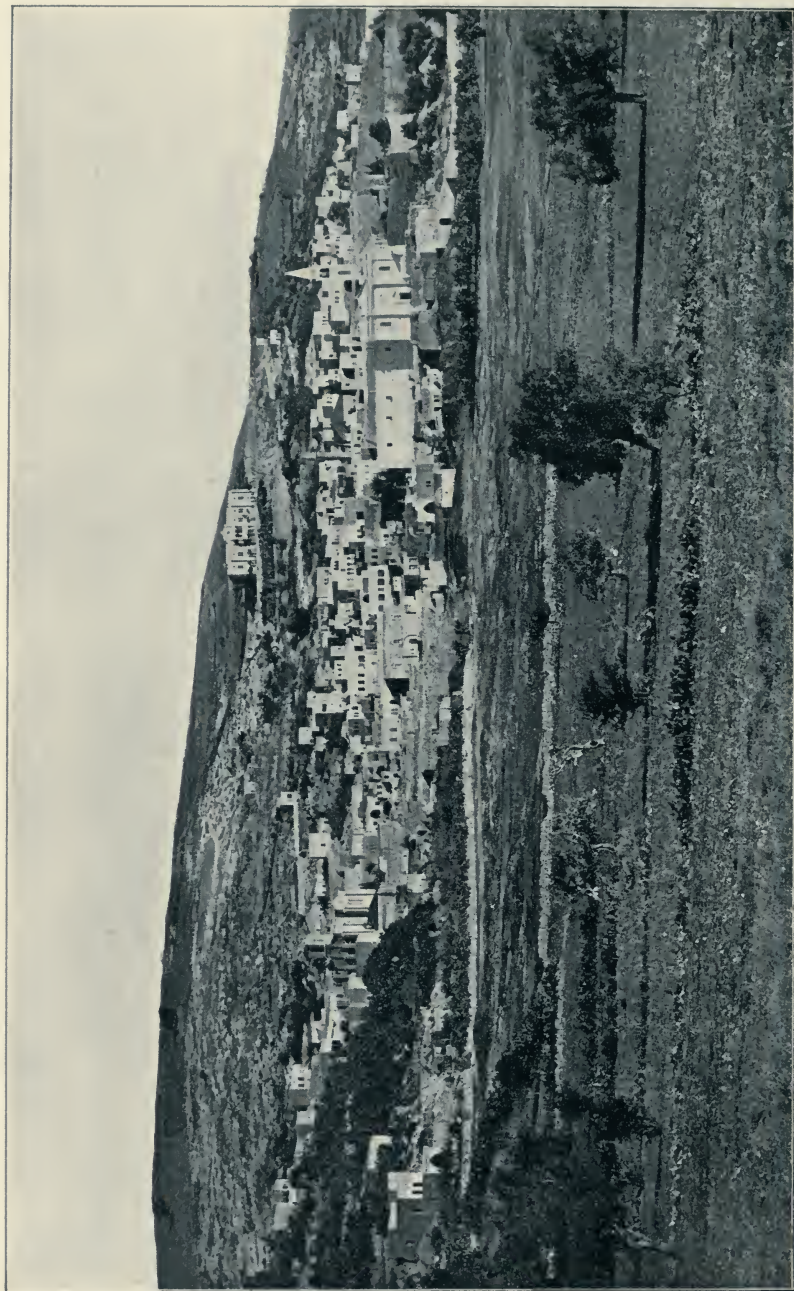
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NAZARETH



THE BIBLICAL WORLD

CONTINUING

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NUMBER 6

THE CHILD PROPHECIES OF ISAIAH.

By WILLIAM R. HARPER,
The University of Chicago.

The child Immanuel.—The child Maher-shalal-hash-baz.—The Prince of Peace.—The shoot of Jesse.

IT is in Isaiah, after all, that we find the pictures of the coming Messiah most vividly portrayed. However it may be explained, we must recognize our dependence upon this prince of the prophetic order for many of those wonderful artistic delineations which bind together indissolubly the Old and the New Testament, the foreshadowing and the reality. At this time we are to think only of those conceptions of the great deliverance, yearned after so earnestly by the prophet and described by him so pathetically, which have as their central figure a *child*. We may not forget that a true appreciation of these pictures is only to be gained by a careful study of the other pictures painted by Isaiah, which have other figures in the center and of which the background is something very different. But at the risk of inadequate, or even wrong, interpretation, we shall confine ourselves to the *child-pictures*. These are well known: The child, Immanuel, Isa. 7:7-10; the child, Maher-shalal-hash-baz, Isa. 8:1-4; the Prince of Peace, 9:1-6; the shoot of Jesse, 11:1-9.

1. *The child Immanuel.*—Isa. 7:7-10. It is 735 B. C. Assyria, whose powerful influence has already been felt again and again by the nations on the Palestinian seaboard, is threatening Syria, Israel, and Judah. Remember the geographical location of these three nations, and, as well, the route which Assyria must follow in order to reach Jerusalem. In an invasion, Syria will suffer the first attack; and Syria and Israel, now closely connected, will be in sore straits if Assyria should attack them in front while Judah is an enemy in the rear. Since Assyria's coming is certain, Syria and Israel unite to force Judah into triple confederacy. But Judah's king, Ahaz, thinks it a better policy to make terms directly with Assyria and thus avoid the danger of invasion. To force the alliance of Judah, Syria and Israel lay siege to Jerusalem. The city is panic-stricken. The royal court is in terror. The king, while engaged in an inspection of the water supply of the city, is confronted by Jehovah's prophet Isaiah, who brings with him the boy Shear-Jashub, a name of good omen (a remnant will return) to those who believe in Jehovah; of ill omen (only a remnant will return) to those who are faithless. "Ahaz," says Isaiah, "be calm and quiet, have faith in Jehovah, and the two kings who threaten us shall not accomplish their purpose. If you will believe and trust Jehovah, all will be well." Trust in Jehovah at this time meant independence of Assyria. Could one trust in Jehovah and at the same time make an alliance with a foreign power and in making that alliance accept as all-powerful the gods of that foreign power? How Ahaz received this first message we learn indirectly from the record. He was deaf to the words of the prophet. The next day comes or the next week, and again Isaiah approaches the king in order to persuade him of the truth of the message sent from God. This time it would seem that the message is delivered inside of the palace, in the very presence of the royal family. "Ahaz," says Isaiah, "you would not believe my former message from Jehovah; I come again. Let me give you a sign which shall be evidence of this truth; a sign to be wrought in heaven or in hell according to your command." But Ahaz, the hypocrite, already in alliance with Tiglathpileser, will not ask a sign. He

will not, so he says, put Jehovah to the test. The prophet, freed from all restraint, burning with righteous indignation, utters words which are intended to strike terror to the heart of the royal family: "Hear now, O House of David, is it too little for you to weary men that ye weary my God also? You will not accept my proposition to give you a sign of the truth of Jehovah's message, therefore Jehovah himself shall appoint you a sign. Behold, *a young woman shall conceive and bear a son and she shall call his name Immanuel.*"¹ For before the boy shall know how to refuse the evil and choose the good (that is, before he is, let us say, four or five years of age) the land of whose two kings (that is Assyria and Israel) thou art in terror shall be deserted. If thou, O Ahaz, wilt trust in God, he will give evidence of his presence and your enemies shall not harm you. But if you will not believe, ruin shall come upon Judah as well as upon Syria and Israel at the hand of Assyria." It was a promise of a new régime, a new political situation, dependent, however, upon the steadfastness of Ahaz's faith. The picture may be briefly summarized: In the distance Assyria, laying waste the territory of Syria and Israel; in Judah a child, the manifestation of Jehovah's presence, guarding as ruler and protector the interests of Jehovah's kingdom; Judah herself in peace and contentment because of Jehovah's presence. Was the picture realized? Not in the time of Ahaz, for Ahaz was always faithless.

2. *The child Maher-shalal-hash-baz.* — 8: 1-4. It is 733 B. C. No change has yet come in the political situation. *The people*, to whom the prophet's words addressed to the king, have in all probability become known, need further assurance of the message. There is still time for repentance and a turning toward Jehovah. The message came from Jehovah to the

¹ The prophet does not have in mind (1) the wife of Ahaz, the child being Hezekiah, who was to be provisionally an evidence of God's presence (cf. C. R. BROWN, in *Journal of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*, Vol. IX, 1890, pp. 118-127), nor (2) the unmarried daughter of Ahaz (cf. NAGELSBACH in *Lange's Isaiah*) whose disgraceful condition is thus revealed by the prophet, or (3) the prophet's own wife, Immanuel being the son of Isaiah as well as Shear-jashub (so many), nor (4) any young woman who in the near future may conceive and bear a son (cf. CHEYNE, *Introduction to Isaiah*).

prophet. "Take a large tablet and write on it in plain characters 'Swift-spoil, speedy-prey.' Secure reliable witnesses in order that in future times the writing may be attested." The prophet we understand, obeyed the order given. About this time the prophet's own wife conceives and bears a son. By the command of Jehovah he is given for his name the inscription of the tablet. "For before the boy shall know how to cry 'my father' and 'my mother' (that is, before he is fifteen or eighteen months of age) they shall carry the riches of Damascus and the spoil of Samaria (that is, the two kings of whom Ahaz was afraid) before the king of Assyria." It was in 732, a year or so later, that Tiglathpileser destroyed Damascus and carried two of the northern tribes into captivity.

3. *The Prince of Peace.*—9:1-7. The time of Tiglathpileser's invasion is one of darkness and sorrow, captivity and bloodshed. It is easy to conceive the feelings of Judah and Jerusalem when the news comes that Damascus has fallen and a portion of Israel has been carried away into captivity. In this time of gloom and deep shadow the prophet preaches of the great light which shall shine. In this time of grief and dismay he preaches of exultation and joy, the joy of harvest and the joy of dividing the spoil. In this day when Israel has first come to feel the yoke of Assyria, he speaks of the time when this burdensome yoke shall be broken. In this day of destruction and warfare he tells of a time when all warlike instruments shall be destroyed. But the people whom he addressed must regard him as a visionary. How can these things be? It is true that the destruction of warlike instruments will make it possible for the yoke just now placed on Israel's shoulder to be removed. The removal of this yoke will undoubtedly bring the greatest possible joy, and because of this joy there will everywhere be light instead of gloom. But how shall this great change be brought about? The prophet tells us: "A child shall be born unto us; a son shall be given unto us and the government shall be upon his shoulders; and his name shall be called Wonder-Counsellor, God-hero, Father of booty, Prince of Peace; who shall sit upon the throne of David and establish it and support it by righteous-

ness forever." The picture is the same as before; that of a child seated upon the Davidic throne, with war banished from the earth and peace established everywhere; the world at liberty and the universe enjoying this liberty.

4. *The shoot of Jesse*.—II : 1-9. Fifteen or twenty years have elapsed and the prophet who had begun his work twenty-five years before is now a man of middle age. Another picture is presented, that of a shoot coming forth from the stock of Jesse, a branch from his roots bearing fruit, upon whom rests the spirit of Jehovah, a spirit of wisdom and discernment, of counsel and might, of knowledge and of the fear of Jehovah. Judgment is rendered in accordance with fundamental principles of equity. Peace exists everywhere, not only between man and man, but also between man and beast. "They do not hurt or destroy in all my holy mountain; for the earth is full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea." And all the nations are seeking the root of Jesse which stands for an ensign to the peoples.

Isaiah's vision was clear; but, as history shows it lacked perspective. Knowing God as he did, and God's laws, he *knew* that there would come a manifestation of God's love and mercy to the people of promise. He sees, ahead, an ideal nation, an ideal King, an ideal society. These are involved in the very nature of God himself. They are as sure as that God exists. His soul is so illumined by the divine Spirit that the picture of these things has painted itself upon his heart and brain. There was no prophet more confident than was Isaiah. But Isaiah was only a prophet; he was therefore a man. He was speaking for those about him, and must speak in their language. His thought is expressed in figures colored by his surroundings. His vision of the future is clothed in the imagery of the present; just as the prophet in speaking of the past used this imagery in his descriptions of the past. This new dispensation, represented by the *child*, and in which the *child* will play so important a rôle, Isaiah fondly imagines will come with the Assyrian invasion. He expects it within *five*, then *two* years. The invasion comes, but the time is not yet fulfilled. Is Isaiah disappointed and discouraged? Per-

haps for a moment, but only for a moment; and then again he preaches, as before, of the coming *child*. He, without question, expected this child in his own day. He declared his coming while he was still young; as the years pass he continues to look for him; and now when he is old and his work is almost finished he still looks forward, as earnestly, as courageously, as confidently as before. It was not God's will that Isaiah's day should witness the introduction of the new dispensation. Jeremiah, realizing the work to be accomplished by the captivity, assured the people of his time that the new régime would come in seventy years, but at the end of seventy years Daniel, down in Babylon, postponed it seventy weeks (not literal weeks). *In time* the child came, and in coming fulfilled the prayers and the prophecies of all the saints and all the prophets,—the child of David's family, the Messiah, the Christ.



RAPHAEL — HEADS OF THE INFANT JESUS

See page 463

THE STORY OF THE BIRTH.

By PROFESSOR GEORGE T. PURVES, D.D.,
Princeton Theological Seminary.

The account of the birth in Matthew given to prove Jesus to be the Christ.— In Luke, to show the fulfilment of the promise of salvation.— The mutual relation of the two accounts.— Objections to the infancy narratives not strong enough to warrant disbelief.

THE story of the birth of Jesus is recounted in but two of the gospels. The objects with which Mark and John composed their narratives led them to begin with the public appearance of the Baptist, which immediately preceded the public ministry of Christ, without prefixing any account of the latter's earlier life. John, moreover, assumed familiarity with the other gospels. None of the gospels were written with what we would consider a biographical interest. The religious significance of the Lord's public work and teaching was so supreme to the earliest Christians, as is shown by Acts 1 : 21, 22, that it did not occur to the evangelists to treat his life as a whole from a merely historical point of view. But it did come within the purpose of Matthew and Luke to prefix to their gospels—which like the others dealt mainly with the public ministry of Christ—brief accounts concerning his birth and infancy; not, however, because these evangelists were, unlike the others, biographers, but because the earlier incidents which they have preserved contributed to the particular point of view from which they intended to set the public ministry forth. Luke indeed possessed no little historical insight, and in the Acts shows himself a real historical artist. It may be, therefore, that in beginning his gospel where he did, he was partly governed by the desire to present a complete narrative. This we may infer, also, from the language of his preface (1 : 3). But Matthew's gospel is proof that Luke's did not include all the facts, and his preface does not claim that it did.

We must still suppose that in the narrative of Christ's birth and infancy he was chiefly governed by that religious point of view from which he desired to exhibit the story of the Son of Man as a whole. The objects with which Matthew and Luke wrote were thus the occasion of their preserving the story of the birth, and to their narratives, with their noteworthy agreements and differences, must we go to learn it.

In Matthew's account the story of the birth and infancy of Jesus is obviously related for the purpose of showing that he was indeed the royal Messiah of Israel and the promised Son of David. This is the aspect in which he is predominantly represented in that gospel. So, in the first place, the legal genealogy of "Jesus who is called Christ" is traced through Joseph to David and Abraham, to whom the special promises had been made that from their seed Messiah should be born. This genealogical register is artificially arranged in three sections of fourteen generations each—from Abraham to David, from David to the captivity, and from the captivity to Christ—an arrangement intended partly as an aid to memory but also to emphasize the greatness of the epoch which began with the birth of Jesus. Christ's pedigree is here traced through Joseph because he was in fact Joseph's legal heir and therefore would naturally be understood to claim his Davidic rights through him. An examination of the genealogy shows that in other cases the inheritance did not descend by direct paternity, so that the phrase "begat" is used in a legal rather than in a physical sense.¹ The

¹ Thus Matthew, like Ezra 5:2, Neh. 12:1, Hag. 1:1, states "Salathiel begat Zorobabel;" though from 1 Chron. 3:19 we learn that the actual relation was that of uncle and nephew. Also, by a comparison with Matt. of Luke 3:27 and 1 Chron. 3:17, 18, it becomes quite certain that the phrase, "Jechonias begat Salathiel," means simply that Salathiel was the legal heir of Jechonias. This phraseology is in accordance with the largeness of meaning given by the Hebrews to the word "son." In v. 8 Matthew omits three kings, yet says "Joram begat Ozias (Uzziah)." A similar omission occurs in v. 11.

May not this suggest the explanation of the reading of the Lewis Syriac gospels which has recently excited discussion? Matt. 1:16 there reads "Joseph, to whom was betrothed Mary the Virgin, begat Jesus who is called the Christ." This reading clearly did not imply unbelief in the miraculous birth, for the latter is immediately stated in the following verses. There is no probability that the Syriac reveals the existence of two original, divergent traditions, imperfectly amalgamated; for the evi-

whole point was to establish legal heirship. Therefore it did not in the least conflict with this representation, that Matthew immediately proceeds to narrate that Jesus was miraculously conceived by Mary before her marriage with her intended husband. But while stating the fact of the miraculous conception, Matthew's interest in the Davidic heirship of Jesus led him not merely to mention Mary's experience, but to relate at length Joseph's conduct when her condition became known. This "son of David" was warned by an angel not to fear to take Mary for his wife. He was told that the mystery of her conception was the work of the Holy Spirit and he was directed to call the child "Jesus," inasmuch as he would save his people from their sins. It was further pointed out to him by the angel¹ that the whole mysterious transaction was in fulfilment of the prophecy of Isaiah (7:14). The words of the prophet, whether originally intended to refer to a virgin or simply to any young woman, were certainly most emphatically realized when a virgin was made the instrument of ushering into the world the promised Messiah; and in such an event, where God so obviously operated, special propriety lay in the name Emmanuel—God with us—which Isaiah had applied to the expected child. Thus Matthew's purpose was not to relate all the story. He rather assumed in his readers a knowledge of Christ's miraculous origin. His motive was to exhibit the legal royalty of Jesus and to adjust this, by explaining the

dence for our Greek text goes much further back than the Syriac and is abundantly attested. Neither can the variation have been due to heretical (Ebionite) intent; for v. 16 itself implies the orthodox view; no such intent can be shown elsewhere in the codex; and the omission from v. 25 of "he knew her not until," etc., evinces rather a disposition to protect the virginity of Mary. Neither can the reading of v. 16 be assigned to mere scribal error, for v. 21 also reads "she shall bear to thee a son" and 25, "she bore to him a son." The Syriac reading of v. 16 probably is to be traced, together with that of the Old Latin MS. (*k*) ("Joseph, cui desponsata virgo Maria genuit, Jesum Christum") to a Greek text slightly different from ours (*cf.* ZAHN, *Theolog. Literaturblatt* 18 Jan. 1895), which (*k*) translates perhaps literally. But that text, as well as the Syriac reading derived from it, appears to proceed on the idea that "begat" describes legal paternity and could be used where physical paternity was never thought of.

¹ The *ἐγγον* of v. 22 implies that we are to understand the language as that of the angel, not of the evangelist; though the latter adds the interpretation of the name Emmanuel. *Cf.* WEISS: *Matthäus Evangelium*.

fidelity and conduct of Joseph, to the fact of the Lord's supernatural generation. Then, to complete the account, it is added that Joseph took Mary to be his wife and reverently awaited with her the birth of the child. He indicated also his devout belief in the angel's message and in the high destiny of his heir, by giving him the significant name which the angel had directed. By the first evangelist, therefore, the story of Christ's birth was shown to agree fittingly with the Messianic claims which the subsequent narrative presents and illustrates. The events of the infancy also, as given by Matthew,—the visit of the Magi, the flight into Egypt, the slaughter of the children, the final settlement in Nazareth,—are all introduced for the purpose of exhibiting in them the fulfilments of prophecy pertaining to Messiah. His object was thus not to give a complete history of the birth of Jesus but to bring out the cogent proofs which it provided of the royal, Messianic dignity of Joseph's and Mary's child.

In Luke's gospel the story of the birth is given under the control, for the most part, of quite a different purpose. We have observed that Matthew refers briefly to the miraculous conception and is at no special pains to prove it, as if it were a fact well known among his readers. The longer narrative of Luke provides the information to which Matthew thus alludes. It may reasonably be inferred that the third evangelist derived his material in this instance from the family circle in which the events occurred, with one member of which we know that he was acquainted (Acts 21:18). From that family it may be supposed to have circulated among the Hebrew Christians. The strongly Hebraistic coloring of this section seems also to imply that Luke found it already in written form.¹ At the same time the evangelist appears to have added some explanatory clauses to fit the narrative for Gentile readers (*e. g.*, 1:5, 9; 2:1, 2, perhaps 23). The beautiful story, however, bears on its face the evidence that it issued from just some such circle of pious Jews as that which Matthew depicts in the characters of Joseph and Mary. In it we feel ourselves far from the worldly priestcraft,

¹ See FEINE, *Eine vorkanonische Ueberlieferung des Lukas*, 1891.

formal ceremonialism, and political ambitions which ruled in Jerusalem, and which arrayed themselves in fierce opposition to Jesus when his public ministry began; far removed, also, from the fanatical patriotism of the common people, which was so devoid of spiritual motives that it could not understand Jesus even while it admired him. We find ourselves in an atmosphere of devoted piety, of intense longing for the promised Saviour of Israel; in a circle where Old Testament words and ideas nourished the spiritual life. The language of Zacharias and Elizabeth, of Mary, Simeon, and Anna, does not indeed transcend the point of view from which devout Hebrews would be expected to conceive of the Messiah. But they reveal such scriptural piety, formed after the Old Testament pattern, as became the household from which the Christ and his forerunner were to spring. The narrative thus bears striking marks of historicity. Its fine religious realism is itself strong assurance of its historical truthfulness.

In this narrative, then, the birth of Jesus appears as the event in which the promise of salvation, long deferred to Israel, began to be fulfilled. The goodness and grace of God in at last providing redemption seems to be the leading motive of the recital. We notice the stress laid on the gladness of the tidings brought by the angel to Zacharias. They emphasize the joy which John the Baptist's appearance would cause; his spiritual character; the revival of piety of which he would be the instrument; his position as forerunner of the Lord himself. Then in Gabriel's annunciation to the Virgin the message of salvation is still more strongly stated. The maiden's natural fear at the appearance of the angel is met by the assurance of God's favor to her. The same significant name "Jesus" was revealed to her also as that which should be given to her child, while his dignity ("Son of the Highest") and his everlasting reign were predicted in terms fitted to no mere worldly monarch, but only applicable to one who would possess primarily a religious and spiritual dominion. The religious import of the event is also emphasized in the explicit statement by which the angel explained to Mary the holy nature of the mystery that should

take place. It was to be the work of the Holy Spirit, of whom the Old Testament had spoken as the powerful agent of God's grace in the theocracy, and of whose special bestowment on Messiah Isaiah had repeatedly testified (Isa. 11:1, etc.; 42:1, etc.; 61:1, etc.); so that the promised child would be in a unique sense "holy, the Son of God." We should carefully observe that Mary was not told that her child was to be incarnate God. The phrase "Son of God" is undoubtedly used in a theocratic sense. There is not a suggestion in the narrative of later theological statement. The story remains strictly in the bounds of such religious ideas as were possible to a devout Hebrew. The main thought of the narration is the gracious fulfilment of the promised salvation. Apart from the question of the miraculous character of the events described,—a question which has no right to intrude into our study,—the annunciation to the Virgin is described in a way exactly harmonious with the intense spiritual aspirations and actual religious ideas which Mary may most naturally be supposed to have had.

And Mary is described as accepting her lot in the same exalted fervor of devotion. When her natural modesty and need of sympathy led her to visit her kinswoman Elizabeth, of whose expected motherhood the angel had also informed her, their salutations evince the lofty and pure thoughts which filled their souls. Where was it more natural for the long silent voice of inspiration to break forth again than from the lips of these holy women, who had been chosen for the two highest honors of their race? In particular, the outburst of Mary's praise in the *Magnificat*, by its close reproduction of Old Testament psalmody, and especially by its echoes of Hannah's song (1 Sam. 2:1-10), testifies to the direction in which her mind was turning, and ought to confirm our confidence in the historical character of the record. A like remark may be made concerning the song of Zacharias at the birth of John, which moves wholly in the sphere of Israelitish ideas and repeats the thought that the promised salvation was at hand.

We are thus brought to Luke's account of the actual birth of Jesus (2:1-20). It is characteristic of the evangelist that he

relates the events to secular dates (see 1:5; 3:1). He thus explains that, through the decree of Augustus that all the world should be enrolled, the birth occurred in Bethlehem, and adds, again quite after his manner, "this was the first enrolment made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria." As is well known, Luke's accuracy in this statement has been vigorously attacked, most exhaustively perhaps by Schürer.¹ It would take us far beyond the limits and purpose of this article to discuss the question in detail. We believe, however, that every objection made by Schürer may be successfully met, and it is gratifying to note that so high an authority as Professor W. M. Ramsay is of the same opinion.² Apart from that question, however, Luke's narrative calls for further remark. He, too, like Matthew, represents Joseph as of Davidic lineage, though it is probable, from 1:32, that Mary also was of like descent. He describes briefly the circumstances of the birth, mentioning the fact that it occurred in a stable because there was no room for them in the lodging-house. But, true to the prevailing motive of the entire section, he hastens to narrate at greater length the annunciation to the shepherds, since in it the message of the fulfilment of the promised salvation was again repeated. This, therefore, was evidently the governing thought under the influence of which the whole narrative was written. It corresponds with the leading thought of the following gospel. The latter makes conspicuous the grace of God which was brought unto men through Jesus Christ³ and the keynote of this evangel of grace is struck in its opening recital of the birth of Jesus.

These two gospels therefore recite the story of the birth of Christ, not for the purpose of giving complete accounts, but with the aim of selecting those events which contributed to their recital of his public life. Yet, when their narratives are compared, no contradiction exists between them. It is sometimes alleged, indeed, that Matthew makes Joseph a resident of Bethlehem and

¹ *Hist. of Jewish People*, etc., Eng. Tr. Div. I, Vol. II, 105-143.

² *Expositor*, September 1896, p. 198. Cf. also ZAHN, *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 1893, 8.

³ See Bishop ALEXANDER'S *Leading Ideas of the Gospels*, IV.

his later settlement in Nazareth only the result of his fear of Archelaus. But this is a needless interpretation. Matthew simply does not state where Joseph was when the annunciation was made to him. After Jesus was born, it would be most natural for the parents to assume that their child should be raised in the city of his father David whose throne he was to inherit. Hence their intention of returning from Egypt to Judea is easily understood. But when it was made evident that God wished them not to return thither, they naturally sought the Galilean town where, as Luke informs us, they had previously resided. Neither is Luke 2:39 exclusive of the sojourn in Egypt, although it is probable that the visit of the Magi and the flight which followed should be located after the presentation in the temple. Still less should objection be raised to the double annunciation of the birth or to the statements that both to Joseph and Mary the name "Jesus" was given by the angels to the Child. Both Joseph and Mary equally needed a revelation on the subject. The two gospels therefore harmonize in their details and agree in the larger facts of the Davidic heirship of Jesus, his miraculous conception, and his birth in Bethlehem. Their differences are fully explicable by the purposes of the writers, which led to the selection of different incidents with a view of presenting special aspects of the events.

At the same time these narratives are obviously independent. Their agreement, therefore, proves that the facts, as gleaned from them both, were the common belief of the apostolic Christians. We have already observed that neither evangelist is at pains to prove or to elaborate the facts but only to exhibit their religious significance. This indicates that the facts themselves were accepted in the apostolic age without dispute. The entire absence from both narratives of such fanciful details as appear even so early as in the epistles of Ignatius¹ (A. D. 110), and still more in the apocryphal gospels, further assures us that we are not dealing with the products of pious imagination but with the sober testimony of the earliest period. Moreover, the Jewish Christian origin of both accounts is evident. The story, there-

¹ *Ep. to the Ephesians*, 19.

fore, cannot be regarded as a legend due to the influence of Gentile ideas upon Christian tradition. It must be accepted as part of the original apostolic testimony: and since the notion of a God-begotten man was utterly foreign to Jewish thought,¹ the Jewish Christian origin of the narratives becomes a cogent evidence of their historical value. The suggestion, *e. g.*, of Holtzmann,² that the legend arose out of an Essenic antipathy to marriage, is utterly incredible, first, because these very gospel narratives conspicuously honor marriage, and, secondly, because in the Old Testament, whose influence appears so strong throughout the story, marriage and offspring were regarded as an honor to Hebrew women. Finally, the incorporation of the story in Luke's gospel attests that it was also the common belief of Gentile Christians too. The preface to that gospel assures us that the evangelist believed himself to be introducing no novelties. He desired to give Theophilus a full and orderly account of the things in which the latter had already been instructed. Hence there should be no hesitation in admitting that among the apostolic Christians, both Jewish and Gentile, the belief in the facts concerning the birth of Jesus, as these are given in our gospels, was general.

With that class of objections to the gospel story of Christ's birth which arises from disbelief in the miraculous, we are not here concerned. Such criticism is to be met on philosophical, rather than historical, grounds. But objections to the story are often drawn from the silence elsewhere upon this subject of the New Testament itself. We are reminded, for instance, that Christ never alluded to his miraculous birth or to his birth in Bethlehem, though both would have been reasons for believing in him as Messiah. He was known as the Nazarene, and the Carpenter's Son (Matt. 13:55; Luke 4:22; John 1:45). The earliest disciples betray no knowledge of the story of his birth (John 1:45); neither do the people of Nazareth (Matt. 13:55; Mark 6:3; Luke 4:22) nor of Galilee in general (John 6:42),

¹ See STANTON'S *Jewish and Christian Messiah*, p. 377. DRUMMOND'S *Jew. Mess.*, p. 294.

² *Hand Kommentar*.

nor the people at Jerusalem (John 7:27), nor their rulers (John 7:42-52). In explaining his power he never appealed to his miraculous birth, but to the spirit with which he was filled (*e. g.* Matt. 12:28), or to the Father who was with and in him (John 5:36; 14:10). Still farther, the language and conduct of his mother and family have been deemed inconsistent with the story of his birth. Mary's surprise when she found him in the temple (Luke 2:48); still more her apparent interruption of his work (Mark 12:46); the belief of his friends that he was beside himself (Mark 3:21), and the unbelief of his brethren in his Messiahship (John 7:5) appear to some incompatible with knowledge of his miraculous birth or of the angelic annunciations with which it is said to have been attended. But it may be said in reply that any public appeal by Jesus for faith on the ground of his birth would have been useless as well as injurious to the chief purpose of his ministry; useless, because none would have believed it, and it would only have aroused the tongue of slander to impeach his mother as well as himself; injurious, because his determined purpose was to evoke a faith based on sympathy with his ethical and religious teaching, not on mere wonder at his miraculous deeds. The latter, indeed, were credentials, but not because of their miraculous character alone, but because of their ethical character also (see, *e. g.*, Matt. 12:24-32; John 10:24-26). It would therefore have been wholly out of keeping with his method to have appealed to a fact which not only was not a public one but was one whose religious significance only appears in the light of a complete knowledge of his person and work. As to his mother, we are expressly told that she "kept all these things and pondered them in her heart" (Luke 2:19). The child's life of quiet obedience fully accounts for her surprise at finding him in the temple, and her very awe over his origin, combined with the evident mystery that attended his mission as well as with the dangers that had threatened him in his infancy, would lead her and Joseph to preserve their secret in silence, not speaking of it at first even in the family circle itself. There is nothing whatever to show that Mary ever doubted his Messiahship. Her language at the wedding at Cana (John 2:3, 5) distinctly implies

the contrary. On the other hand, the claim of Davidic sonship appears universally known; since this rested, as Matthew shows, on his being known as Joseph's son and heir.

But we are further reminded that according to the Acts and the epistles, the apostles, when the time for the preaching of Jesus came, do not appear ever to have alluded to his miraculous birth or to his birth in Bethlehem; still less do they appeal to it; while the rise of the legend can be explained, it is said, on dogmatic grounds. It may be questioned, indeed, whether the language of Paul, "born of a woman" (Gal. 4:4), especially when taken in connection with the following phrase, "made under the law," does not imply familiarity with the narrative given in Luke of Christ's birth and infancy; but we are not anxious to press the point.¹ It is sufficient to observe that neither in their preaching, any more than in that of Christ himself, was the story of his birth fitted to serve the purpose of proof of his Messiahship. That needed a public fact, attested by witnesses, and this was found in his resurrection. Neither was it the purpose of the epistles to relate the story of his life. The allusions in them to his deeds on earth and even to his teaching are comparatively few. It implies, therefore, an entire misapprehension of the purposes and needs of apostolic testimony, and is an unwarrantable use of the argument from silence, to discredit the narratives of the evangelists by the absence of reference elsewhere to their story of Christ's birth.

Nor can the rise of the story be fairly attributed to dogmatic tendencies. We have already observed that its Jewish Christian origin precludes the explanation of it as a myth. Its rise out of dogmatical influences likewise cannot be shown. Here the silence of the epistles does become significant. The only known dogmatic tendencies which could have produced the story, were desire to establish the divinity of Christ, or his sinlessness, or Paul's doctrine of the second Adam. But these doctrines are maintained and defended in the epistles without any reference to the miraculous birth and wholly on other grounds. There is, therefore, absence of proof, just where proof

¹ See also Rev. 13:1, etc.

might be expected, that belief in these doctrines led to the construction of the evangelic story. That story, as we glean it from the first and third evangelists, carries us back historically to the heart of the apostolic age, and has no reasonable explanation except that it records the general belief of the apostolic Christians. - It would seem to be only the fair conclusion that, in this matter as in regard to other incidents of Christ's life, their belief rested, as Luke expressly says his did, on the testimony of those who "from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word."

But must we not admire the delicacy of touch with which the outlines and principal features of the story are recorded? There is no coarse attempt to satisfy vulgar curiosity. There is no effort to portray the miracle in glaring colors or with fantastic detail. The permanent, religious value of the facts is kept in the foreground. Yet how appropriate is the setting of the story! If the lowly surroundings of the Child of Bethlehem befitted his mission as the Son of Man and Man of Sorrows, so the royalty of his inheritance and the homage of angels and wise men befitted his kingship, and the glowing piety of the circle amid which he was ushered into the world befitted his holy character and position as the promised Redeemer of Israel. Where was it appropriate for Messiah to be born except in the bosom of a household where the old revelation maintained its power? And yet he was not the product of that household nor of Israel. He was not merely the perfect fruit of Hebrew faith and culture. He was more. He was incarnate God, who himself assumed a human nature. What then was more appropriate than that his entrance into flesh should be supernatural; that even the piety of Israel should be made to appear insufficient to produce him; that he who was afterwards to be known as the God-man should combine in the very manner of his birth the indications of his heavenly as well as of his earthly origin?

THE HOME OF OUR LORD'S CHILDHOOD.

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The village in Israel's history.—The situation of Nazareth:—lower Galilee; the basin in which the town lies.—The view from the hill.—The great roads.—The memory of revolutions.

It is remarkable how many of the greatest lives in Israel were drawn from her villages or from the still more obscure and lonely edges of the desert. Apparently the one great career which sprang from the capital was Isaiah's. He, wherever born, was Isaiah of Jerusalem; rooted and grounded, pervasive and supreme, within those walls whose security he maintained to the end to be the one indispensable basis of God's kingdom upon earth. But in this identification with the city Isaiah was alone. Jonah came from Gath-hepher, Amos from Tekoa, Hosea from some part of Galilee or Gilead, Micah from Moresheth in the Shephelah, Nahum from Elkosh (perhaps another village of the Shephelah or possibly of Galilee), Jeremiah from Anathoth, John the Baptist from *the deserts*, and Jesus Christ from Nazareth—a village so unimportant that it is never mentioned in the Old Testament, even among the crowded lists of the tribal borders, very close to one of which it must have lain, and so destitute of the natural conditions of a great city that, with all the religious distinction which came to it nineteen centuries ago, Nazareth has never grown beyond a few thousand inhabitants.

The site and surroundings of Nazareth have been so often described that it is impossible to add another account which shall not be for the most part a repetition. I shall perhaps best fulfil the task assigned me if I first give the impressions, shared by so many travelers, of the secluded basin in which the village lies, and of the broad views opening from the edge of it, and if I

then add the particular features of the district which two visits have emphasized on my own mind.

Between the plain of Esdraelon and the sudden range that lifts upper Galilee to a high tableland, lower Galilee consists of three or four parallel valleys running eastward from the Levant to Gennesaret and the Jordan. It is a limestone country, too porous for large streams, but with a soil and a rainfall sufficient for considerable fertility. It is full of thriving villages, but without the occasions of a large city, except at the seacoast or beside the lake. The long valleys, however, and their position between the Phœnician seaports and the busy Greek life across Jordan, gathered in our Lord's day a large volume of traffic, to guard which fortresses and other military posts were easily raised on the crags and ridges that are scattered across the whole region. Lower Galilee was thus an intensified miniature of all Palestine. Scores of villages; too humble and aloof to attract the armies or caravans which crossed that central land in almost constant procession, nevertheless afforded to their restless inhabitants a view of the great world from the Mediterranean to Arabia, with all the tokens which the former offers of a still greater world beyond, and granted them an almost immediate issue upon the courses of some of the main currents of history. Nazareth occupied one of these withdrawn, yet wonderfully open, positions; rather more hidden from the outer land than most of her sister villages, but within an hour of the world's highways that ran across the land.

Nazareth lies upon the most southerly of the ranges of lower Galilee, just above the plain of Esdraelon and over against the Samaritan hills. It is almost the first Galilean village which the traveler reaches coming north through the country.

On this edge of Esdraelon, which is here some 350 feet above the sea, the hills rise abruptly for 900 or 1000 feet more. You pierce them by a narrow and winding pass, which, on the other side of their first summits, suddenly breaks upon the lower end of a valley, a shallow, tilted basin among the hills. At the upper, the western, end of this valley, which is about a mile



TRAVELERS CROSSING THE DESERT

long and half a mile broad, the town of En Nâsara spreads up a steep slope crowned by the highest summit of the district, the Neby Sa'in, with a small chapel to the Moslem saint after whom it is named. The ancient Nazareth probably hung a little higher up the hill, but still within touch of the one well of the neighborhood, that springs in the center of the modern town. The white houses of En Nâsara are partly visible from one or two points across the plain on the slopes of Little Hermon,¹ but from nowhere else outside the basin. The trunk road crosses Esdraelon near the mouth of the winding gorge that leads up to the village, but the caravans swing sleepily past unaware of its existence. From the north it is wholly shut off by the ridge of Neby Sa'in. So also, if I remember aright, the view from the village itself is, except for a glimpse or two, limited to the basin.

The basin in which Nazareth lies is dry and gray. There are a few gardens below the town and some trees around, and especially above it. All the rest is limestone rock and chalky soil, with the glare of summer dulled by the sparse grass and thistle, very cheerless in wet or dark weather, but in spring flushing into great patches of wild flowers. It is a quiet hollow under an open heaven, a home with all its fields in sight, keeping the music of its life to itself. To the shepherd watching from the hill each of the few village houses must have been marked: the teacher's, those of the various elders, the synagogue, the inn, the baker's shop, and the carpenter's; here the noisy groups about the well, there the children playing on the street; there would hardly be a market place. Outside there were the village graves, the threshing floors, the rubbish heaps, the rocky paths with their very occasional travelers; flowers, trees, and birds, the sheep and goats, perhaps a bird of prey sailing lazily over, or a fox stealing in the noonday stillness across the gray hillside.

But climb to the edge of the basin, climb especially to the ridge of Neby Sa'in above the village, and this quiet, self-contained valley, that from its center sees heaven covering nothing

¹SUTHERLAND: *Palestine; the Glory of all Lands*. 146 f.

but its own fields, shrinks to a furrow in a vast and crowded world; vast, because besides mere widths of horizon there are in view almost every zone of nature, from the great sea and the shores where palms grow to the everlasting snows of Hermon; and crowded because history has seldom brought together



GENERAL VIEW FROM NAZARETH

within such a compass so many famous homes, altars, and battle-fields, nor opened more promises (such as only open across the Mediterranean) of magic isles and coasts beyond. Hermon fills the northeast, and the hills of Galilee are piled against him. You see the hills of Bashan on the other side of the gulf, where the hidden lake lies; the long range of Gilead above the Jordan valley; nearer to you Tabor, where Barak camped, and Little Hermon, with Endor and Shunem on opposite slopes; Gilboa, with Jezreel and Gideon's fountain; Naboth's vineyard, and the scene of Jezebel's murder; Elisha's lodging, and the course of Elijah's race with Ahab's chariot; Esdraelon, with its twenty

battlefields; the Samaritan hills and their passes southward; the place of Elijah's sacrifice on Carmel, and the high green promontory running thence out upon the radiance of the sea; or, if you turn northwards, there are the hills above Acre, and, drawing home again, the plain of Buttauf, with the road from Acre to the lake; and on this side of the plain Sepphoris, the ancient capital of Galilee, with its ruined castle on a hilltop. It is a map of Jewish history, spread within sight of half a dozen points that the boys of Nazareth might have visited daily.

All this is familiar to us through the impressions of many travelers; but across the landscape there are certain lines which I failed to realize till I saw them with my own eyes and trod them with my feet. There are the roads, whose direction in the East is so changeless that upon their faint or less frequented tracks today you can still tread reaches of Roman causeway, and call up again the noise and splendor of the days when Greece and Rome poured along them to the East full tide of commerce and of war. There is a list of them within sight of the hill above Nazareth.

Immediately across Esdraelon, there open through the Samaritan mountains the mouths, a dozen miles apart, of two great passes from the south: that by Jenin, or 'En-gannim, and that by Lejjun or Legion, which was Megiddo. The former is the beginning of the "Anabaseis to the hill-country"¹ of Samaria and Judæa, the road to Shechem and Jerusalem. The latter is the pass from Sharon to Esdraelon, by which the high road comes over from Philistia and Egypt. Issuing on the plain, these roads meet about six miles from Nazareth and passing below her hills swing off between them and Tabor towards the north end of the lake for Damascus and Mesopotamia. Twenty minutes' walk from Nazareth will bring you immediately above this road. A more distant branch of it, miles of which run within sight of the same point, swerves from Jezreel to the other side of Little Hermon and Tabor; while a third branch from Jenin crosses Gilboa to Bethshan and the Jordan. All these roads carried caravans between Egypt and Mesopotamia,

¹ B. R. of Judith III.

between the coast and Arabia, and Roman armies marched by them from Cæsarea to the Decapolis, or the military posts on the Lake of Galilee; it was by the opening of Jenin that pilgrims returned to Galilee from the feasts at Jerusalem. Those



JENIN

citizens of Nazareth who had remained at home would come out to the edge of the hills and watch their friends crossing from En-gannîm. And this way Jesus himself must often have traveled after he was twelve years old. The pilgrim bands, when they left Jenin, would anxiously scan the plain for caravans crossing it from Lejjun, and pause awhile if they saw the lances of a troop of Roman soldiers making for the same angle as themselves. They might also encounter caravans of Egyptian merchants and camel trains from eastern Palestine. Esdraelon (it cannot be too often repeated) was one of the great highways of the ancient world.

All this lay in sight of the Nazareth hills to the south, but from the summit behind the village an equally important road was in view to the north. Four and a half miles away, beyond Sepphoris, a city set on a hill, ran the highroad from Ptolemais, or Acre, to Tiberias, the Decapolis and the Roman frontier towards Arabia. Nearer still ran parallel to this a less frequented road through Sepphoris itself from which a branch cut down past Nazareth upon the Esdraelon roads. Realize that Ptolemais, only twenty-one miles from Nazareth, was one of the two great ports through which passed out and in nearly all the commerce between northern Palestine and Greece and Italy; and that at the other end of these roads was already flourishing the Greek culture which produced so many philosophers, poets, and wits in Gadara and other trans-Jordanic cities. Realize, too, the constant effort which these cities made to hold communication with Athens and Rome, and how the capital of the empire kept in lively touch with its eastern frontier. Remember Pliny's and Strabo's accounts of the herbs, the balsam, the dates and the flax' from the Jordan valley, the pickled fish from the lake, and the wheat from Hauran, which found their way to Ptolemais for shipment all round the Mediterranean. "The Roman ranks, the Roman eagles, the wealth of noblemen's litters and equipages cannot have been strange to the eyes of the boys of Nazareth, especially after their twelfth year, when they went up to Jerusalem, or visited with their fathers famous rabbis, who came down from Jerusalem, peripatetic among the provinces. Nor can it have been the eye only which was stirred. For all the rumor of the empire entered Palestine close to Nazareth—the news from Rome about the emperor's health, about the changing influence of the great statesmen, about the prospects at court of Herod or of the Jews; about Cæsar's last order concerning the tribute, or whether the policy of the procurator would be sustained. Many Galilean families must have had relatives in Rome; Jews would come back to this countryside to tell of the life of the world's capital. Moreover, the scandals of the Herods buzzed up and down these roads; peddlers carried them, and the peripatetic rabbis would moralize upon them. The customs,

too, of the neighboring Gentiles — their loose living, their sensuous worship, their absorption in business, the hopelessness of the inscriptions on their tombs, multitudes of which were readable (as some are still) on the roads around Galilee—all this would furnish endless talk in Nazareth both among men and boys."

But wilder things than these happened in the neighborhood of Nazareth when our Lord was spending his childhood there. Just before the time when according to the gospels the parents of Jesus brought him to the village, there had been a rebellion near Sepphoris. Judas, son of that rebel, Hezekiah, whom Herod hardly overcame, gathered a number of Galileans (among whom there may easily have been a man or two of Nazareth) and stripped the castle of Sepphoris of arms. Josephus adds that this Judas was very ambitious of being made king.¹ Varus gathered an army at Ptolemais, burned Sepphoris, making many of its people slaves, and then marched on Samaria;² his nearest road was past Nazareth. Sepphoris was rebuilt by Herod Antipas, who also, during the years Jesus spent in obscurity at Nazareth, built Tiberias, and by all the roads of Galilee swept foreigners, tramps, and rascals to a site which as yet no Jew would tread. The flames of rebellion had not been quenched by Varus. Judas still lived,³ and "Galilean" himself kept fretting the spirit of all his province. About the tenth year of our Lord the revolt broke out afresh. There must then have been much coming and going between Jerusalem and Galilee; Nazareth, one of the most southerly of Galilean villages and so near Sepphoris, was doubtless aware of some of it. In the great war fifty years later the first blow for independence was struck close by, at Dabaritta, and you understand why when you see the strategic position of the district, round the corner of the plain, with gorges running up through the Nazareth hills. These earlier rebels, therefore, of our Lord's youth, can hardly have kept the neighborhood of Nazareth out of their restless plans against the

¹ JOSEPHUS *Ant.* XVII: 10:5: cf. *Wars* II: 4:1. ² JOSEPHUS *Ant.* XVII: 10:9, 10.

³ On the identity of Judas, son of Hezekiah, with Judas the Galilean, see SCHÜRER, *Hist.* I, ii: 80.

Roman forces. The movement, too, was mixed with feelings which must have drawn into it not only the rough bandits of the province, with no ambition save that of license disguised as freedom, but many of the purest and most patriotic villagers of Galilee. Judas rose against the Gentiles in the name of religion. But this again turned him more readily on the moderate men of his own people. The pitiless party of the Zealots was formed. There were many robberies, and assassinations of prominent and respected Jews.¹ Nor were the motives of the leaders above suspicion. Josephus says they fought for gain, and Judas probably still dreamed of a crown. The revolt, therefore, collapsed. Before the nation was kindled, the Romans scattered the sparks and they fell out of sight, to smoulder on in many places till they fired the great conflagration half a century later. One wonders if any of these sparks were thrown into Nazareth. Certainly the selfish sectarian and tyrannical spirit of the movement, ending in so abject a failure, cannot have missed judgment in her quiet homes. In Judas and his fellows the righteous must have seen how it was possible for a man to aim at the whole world and lose his own soul.

¹ *Ant.* XVIII: 1: 1.

JEWISH FAMILY LIFE.

By ERNEST D. BURTON,
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Marriage.—The house.—Furniture.—Monogamy and divorce.—Superiority of Jewish to heathen morals.—The coming of the child.—The instruction of children.—Household duties.—Hospitality.—Feasts.

Family life begins with marriage, but marriage is usually preceded by betrothal, and betrothal was at least among the Jews of the later time a matter of as much seriousness and solemnity as marriage itself. In earlier days it was apparently accomplished merely by oral promises confirmed perhaps by gifts (Gen. 24:50, 51; 29:19); there is no mention in the Old Testament of a written contract of betrothal. But in later times betrothal became a formal ceremony. According to the Mishna, and quite likely as early as the first century, it took place in the presence of witnesses; the young man gave to his prospective bride some token or written promise that he would marry her, and a legal document fixing the terms of the marriage, dowry, etc., was drawn up. The man and woman were then as sacredly bound to each other as if married. Even the property of the bride belonged from that time to the husband. They could be separated only by death or divorce. It is in entire conformity with this conception of the nature of betrothal that the evangelist speaking of Joseph's intention to dissolve the bond between himself and his betrothed wife uses the word regularly employed for divorcing a wife (Matt. 1:19).

Marriage itself took place, according to the Mishna, a year after betrothal, or in the case of a widow a month after. But it can hardly be assumed that this was at any time a rule uniformly observed. A festal procession led the bride from her father's house to that of her husband (1 Macc. 9:37), her own future home. Yet sometimes, it would seem from Matt. 25:1, 10, the

bridegroom came to the bride's house and the festivities were held there. The marriage of Tobias also took place at the house of the bride's father (Tob. chaps. 7, 8).

The wedding procession was wont to take place at night (Matt. 25:1-6). The entrance of the bride into the house of her husband, or the moment when bride and groom met, was regarded as the moment of special interest. In the house a formal legal instrument was drawn up or signed. Mention of such a contract is made in Tob. 7:14, though in this instance betrothal and marriage are scarcely distinguishable. Then followed the marriage feast. All in all a wedding was an occasion of the greatest rejoicing and festivity, celebrated with music and feasting (Gen. 31:27; 1 Macc. 19:39; John 2:3 ff.; *cf.* Luke 15:25). In his answer to the question of the Pharisees about fasting, Jesus refers to the incongruity of anything suggestive of sorrow at a marriage. The festivities sometimes continued for days (Judges 14:12; Tob. 8:19). There was no definitely appointed religious service in connection with a wedding, the nearest approach to it being the blessing pronounced by the father of one or of each of the young people (Tob. 7:13).

The house to which the groom took his bride would depend of course on his station in life and the means at his command. The simplest form of house consisted of a single square room. The walls would be built of clay or of sun-dried brick; stone was used only in the neighborhood of mountains or for the more expensive city houses. The roof would be of straw and mud, or mortar, ashes, etc., laid upon timbers or boughs, and rolled flat and hard. Surrounded by a parapet (Deut. 22:8), it could be used for hanging linen or drying fruits, or as a place of retirement. It was on the housetop that Peter sought quiet for prayer (Acts 10:9). Such a house would have but one door, and the windows would be latticed, not glazed, and small so as to exclude the summer heat as far as possible. Inside, if the husband included in his possession a few sheep or goats, there would be two parts of the room on different levels. The lower part would be used for the animals at night, and the upper part—not an upper story, but merely one side of the room with a higher floor

than the other—for the family. If there were no animals, as would often be the case in the towns, or there were so many that separate provision was made for them in sheepfolds outside, the whole room would be given up to the family. But in this one room they would all live by night and by day. Separate bedchambers (2 Sam. 4:7) were to be found only in the houses of the well-to-do. The first step from this simplest possible form of a house would be taken when there was erected upon the flat roof a booth of boughs for use in summer; and the next when by means of a more or less substantial and permanent roof placed over the whole of the main flat roof of the house, or by the erection of a walled chamber over a portion of the roof (2 Kings 4:2), a permanent upper room was obtained.



MÜLLER—JOSEPH AND THE BOY JESUS

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Such probably were the upper rooms mentioned in Acts 1:13 and 9:37, 39. The house of Simon the Tanner apparently did not have this addition (Acts 10:9). When such a room existed it often had two exits, one through the house, the other by a flight of stairs leading directly to the street. Hence one fleeing in haste need not go down into the house. (Matt. 24:17).

Of course there were houses of the wealthy and of royal personages that differed greatly from these simpler houses of the common people. Limestone was to be had in Palestine, and from it those who had the means built palaces of stone. These were constructed around a court or even had a series of courts, and might be built two or even three stories in height. For these houses foreign woods were imported, though probably used almost exclusively for interior finish (1 Kings, chaps. 6, 7). But the common people dwelt in simple and detached houses. In Rome there were in ancient times, as in modern, great tenement houses many stories in height. But these were probably not to be seen in Palestine at all.

The furniture in the house of a peasant or artisan Jew was of the simplest kind. The table might be high or low according to the posture which the family were wont to take at meals. In ancient times it was the custom to sit at table, either on the floor in oriental fashion, or on a seat or chair (Gen. 27:19; 1 Sam. 20:24, 25; 2 Kings 4:10). Reclining at meals was evidently at first associated with the luxurious living brought in from foreign countries (Am. 6:4; Sir. 41:19). But in the New Testament time it was, if not the invariable custom, at least a very common habit. The words used for the position in eating are all such as denote a reclining posture (Matt. 9:10; Mark 6:22; Luke 7:36; 9:14, etc.). In addition to the table and the chairs or the couches (Mark 7:4, R. V. marg.), there would be the lamp stand, the broom, the mill for grinding grain, the bushel, and the ordinary implements of cooking. The poorer houses probably had nothing that we should call a bedstead. The very poor simply wrapped themselves in their cloaks, and lay on the clay floor, or on a mat woven of palm leaves. In some cases there was a seat or ledge around the room or at one

side, on which at night mattresses or rugs were laid. Even in the elegant houses of Pompeii there is along one side of the tiny sleeping rooms a ledge of masonry which evidently served as a bedstead or the basis of one. We read, indeed, in the Old Testament of couches of ivory (Am. 6:4), probably a species of couch or divan supported by ivory legs, and intended primarily for use at meals. On such a couch there would be spread rugs of various colors and textures (Prov. 7:16; Ezek. 13:18, 20; Am. 3:12). In this matter there was opportunity for luxury and elegance according to the means of the individual. But all these things are expressly mentioned with disapproval as articles of elegance. It is probable that none of them were to be found in ordinary homes and that even in the houses of the wealthy the furnishings were, except perhaps in the matter of drapings and rugs, such as would seem to our modern taste simple and even plain. The rooms were warmed, if at all, only, as is still common in southern climates, with a charcoal fire in a brazier set in the midst of the room (Jer. 36:22 f.; John 18:18; R. V. marg.). Pictures and statuary, as forbidden by the law (Ex. 20:4), would not be seen in the house of a loyal Jew at all. Books, though by no means forbidden, were rare, and confined, except perhaps in the case of the more cultivated Jews of the later time who had come under Greek influence, almost wholly to copies of a portion of the Scriptures. The reference in 1 Macc. 1:56, 57 to the attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes to destroy all copies of the Jewish Scriptures, "wheresoever was found with any a book of the covenant," indicates that even in that time copies of portions of the Scriptures were to be found in private hands. Yet how common this was is difficult to say. Whether there was in the Nazareth home of Jesus a copy of the Old Testament, or whether he had access only to the synagogue copy, we cannot say with certainty. Certain it is that he was a diligent reader and profound student of the Old Testament.

The position of the wife in a Jewish home was on the whole a high and honorable one. Monogamy was probably always the general rule among the Israelites. The patriarchs, indeed, and some of the kings had more than one wife; some of the latter

had many. But though the law assumed the possibility of polygamy, both the law and the prophetic teaching tended to check it and to mitigate its evils. (See Ex. 21:8; Deut. 21:15 ff., 17:17; Mal. 2:14). The capital passage in Gen. 2:24 is essentially monogamous in spirit, and is made still more so in the form it assumes in the Septuagint, "they *two* shall become one flesh," which is also the form in which Jesus quotes it. And though neither in the New Testament period nor for a long time after did polygamy wholly cease among the Jews (see Jos., *Ant.* 17:1; 2, 3; cf. Ginsburg, art. on Marriage in Kitto's *Cyclop.*; Schürer, *Jewish People*, I, I, 455), it does not seem to have been common. Neither Jesus nor Paul found occasion to deal directly with it. In a Jewish home of the first century there was usually but one wife, who, though her marriage may have been arranged more by her father's judgment than by her own preference, was yet the object of her husband's undivided love. In one respect, indeed, her position was far from ideal. The law gave to the husband the right of putting away his wife if he found "some unseemly thing" in her. The interpretation of this vague phrase was, as is well known, a living question in the first century. The famous Rabbi Hillel had adopted the laxer view, which permitted the husband to divorce his wife for any reason that seemed to him sufficient, even for such trifling matters as "preparing a dish badly, making a blunder, or burning the meat." Shammai, on the other hand, maintained that the phrase "some unseemly thing" must be interpreted in practice as referring exclusively to adultery. The gospels record (Mark 10:3; Matt. 19:3) that the Pharisees put to Jesus this question on which their great scribes had disagreed, and that he unequivocally took the position already favored by Shammai. How generally the people had taken advantage of Hillel's lax view and how much hardship had been suffered by Jewish women because of it we have no definite means of knowing; but even in the days of Malachi the prophet forcibly denounced the husbands who divorced their wives (Mal. 2:14-16) and the language of Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5:31 f.) suggests that easy divorce was one of the evils of his time also. The Mishna makes provision for

the wife's obtaining divorce from her husband (Yebamoth 65, a, b; Kettubboth 77, a), and Paul also treats the question of the separation of husband and wife reciprocally (1 Cor. 7: 10 ff.); but the language of Jesus in the gospels (if we except Mark 10: 12) con-



HOFFMANN — JESUS AMONG THE DOCTORS

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tains no reference to the possibility of a wife's putting away her husband. Perhaps the question of a wife's right to put away her husband had in Jesus' day not been much agitated among the Jews.

But whatever evils may have existed in Jewish society by reason of a tendency to easy dissolution of the marriage tie, Jewish homes were in this respect still vastly better protected than the Greek and Roman homes of the time. In Athens divorce could be had by mutual consent, or, subject to restrictions, on the application of either party. Though divorce is said to have been unknown among the early Romans, a very different state of affairs prevailed in the latter days of the Republic and the early days of the Empire. Marriage customs, and with them divorce usages, had gradually but greatly changed. A marriage

might be dissolved by mutual consent, or either party might repudiate the other without the consent of that other. As the *affectio maritalis* was conceived to be necessary to constitute a marriage, so its continuance was regarded as necessary to the maintenance of the marriage. Cato the younger divorced his wife Marcia, that his friend Hortensius might marry her and she bear him children. Cicero divorced the wife with whom he had lived thirty years, and married a young woman whom he in turn put away. Of course solitary instances prove nothing, but, making due allowance for exceptional cases and the exaggerations of satirists, it is only too evident that in the cultivated heathenism of the first century the foundations of family morality were sadly undermined. Jewish family life presented a marked and favorable contrast to that which was to be seen in Athens or Corinth or Rome.

But if in the matter of divorce Judaism appears at an advantage as compared with the heathenism around it, this is still more true in respect to those personal vices which are the most deadly enemies of pure family life. Law and prophet alike had always denounced adultery and prostitution in sternest language, and though both vices had always existed and called for denunciation (and what nation can here plead innocence?), yet the Jews had never sunk into those awful depths of vileness to which the cultivated heathenism of the first century had descended. Lust had never been sanctified by religion and enshrined in the place of worship, as at Corinth; moralists had never been reduced to the extremity of praising the young man who betook himself to the harlot because he would thus be saved from worse iniquity, as at Rome. Paul indeed laid it to the charge of the Jews who condemned the wickedness of the Gentiles and boasted of their own goodness that they did the same things that they condemned, and in particular accused them of adultery (Rom. 2:1, 22); yet it is noticeable that his detailed accusation against them contains no mention of those awful and unnatural vices which he charges against the Gentiles, and which we know from other sources to have been terribly common; and we must understand his charge as meaning not

that the Jews went to the same extent of iniquity as the Gentiles, but that they were guilty of the same generic sins.

The love of children was always strong in the heart of the Jew, alike of father and mother. Law and narrative and poetry of the Old Testament all bear witness to this fact (Lev. 26:9; 1 Sam. 1; Ps. 127:3; 128, etc.). Destruction of children unborn or exposure of them after birth, both too terribly common among the Gentiles, were almost or wholly unknown among the Jews. Only in Ezek. 16:5 is there reference to the latter custom, and then only in a figurative sense. As among ancient oriental nations in general, a boy was more highly esteemed (1 Sam. 1:11; Jer. 20:15) than a girl; yet daughters were depreciated only relatively. In the great majority of cases sons and daughters are spoken of together in the Bible without intimation of discrimination. In ancient times the boy was named at his birth, and sometimes, at least, by his mother (Gen. 29:32 and chap. 30), but in later times on the occasion of his circumcision (Luke 1:59; 2:21). The ceremonies connected with the redemption of the first-born son and with the purification of the mother are familiar to every reader of the New Testament from their mention in connection with the birth of Jesus. Attention has often been called to the fact that the offering made on this occasion (Luke 2:24) was that which the law permits to her whose "means suffice not for a lamb" (Lev. 12:8) and to the incidental proof thus given that the mother of Jesus belonged among the poor of the land.

The law enjoined upon the parents the duty of instructing their children both in the history and in the religion of their nation—two things which were to the Jew almost inseparable (Deut. 4:9; 6:7, 20; 11:19). To the injunction of Deut. 6:6-9,¹ and the similar words in Ex. 13:9, 16 and 11:18, he gave a very literal interpretation. In obedience to the law as he

¹ And these words which I command thee this day shall be upon thy heart: and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thy house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be for frontlets between thine eyes. And thou shalt write them upon the door posts of thy house, and upon thy gates.

understood it, he wrote the two passages Deut. 6:4-9 and 11:13-21 on parchment and enclosing it in an oblong box fixed the box to house and room doors above the right-hand doorpost; the four passages, Ex. 13:2-10, 11-17; Deut. 6:4-9; 11:13-21, written on strips of parchment, and enclosed in little leather boxes, he bound as phylacteries on his arm and as frontlets between his eyes when he engaged in prayer. The obligation to wear these Tephillim rested only on the male members of the family, and on them from the thirteenth year. But though the Jews thus externalized the latter part of the command, there is no reason to doubt that they obeyed the other portion concerning the teaching of their children with equal punctiliousness. It was probably not an idle boast, though of course there was something of oriental hyperbole in it, when Josephus claimed that his people were so well acquainted with the law that if one should ask any of them concerning its statutes he could tell them more readily than his own name, because having begun to learn them from earliest infancy they were as it were engraved on their hearts. Reciprocal to the duty of the parent to teach his children was the duty of the child to obey and honor his parents, father and mother alike (Ex. 20:12, Prov. 1:8; 6:20 ff. Sir. 3:3 ff.), a duty flagrantly evaded, so far as we know, only in the case of grown-up children who under shelter of a vow escaped the burden of supporting their parents (Mark 7:11, 12; cf. Schürer, II, II, 123; cf. also Sir. 3:12 ff.).

In general it must be said that the law and its requirements filled so large a place in the thought and life of the Jew that it is hardly an exaggeration when Jost says that "the entire life of Judaism was religion."

Yet thoroughly as a Jewish life was impregnated with the thought of religion, and heavy as was the burden which the law and the casuistry of the scribes had laid on the shoulders of the people (Acts 15:10; Matt. 23:4), yet a Jewish home had its round of everyday occupations such as are necessary everywhere among civilized peoples to make life comfortable or even possible. Children were cared for usually by their own mothers. Nurses are mentioned only in connection with the more wealthy

families (2 Sam. 4:4; 2 Kings 11:2). The preparation of the food seems also to have been done by, or under the immediate direction of, the women of the house, even in families that were well-to-do. In patriarchal times Abraham calls on Sarah to pro-



AN ORIENTAL SCHOOL

vide cakes for his unexpected guests (Gen. 18:6). In later Old Testament times the ideal wife rose early in the morning and gave meat to her household (Prov. 31:15). And in the New Testament time Martha, evidently by no means of the poorest class, "served" when Jesus was a guest at her house (Luke 10:40; John 12:2). Even Hillel's inclusion of a burned dinner in the justifiable causes for divorce testifies that the wife was the cook of the family. The weaving of linen and of wool fell also to the lot of the women of the house, as well as the preparation

and care of the clothing for the household. This, however, was a somewhat simpler matter than it would be in modern times and in occidental lands.

In the houses of the wealthy there were of course slaves or hired servants (Luke 15:17) to perform all these tasks or to assist in them. But slaves at least were far less numerous than among the Romans, and their condition far superior in every way. Manual labor was never despised by a true Hebrew. The rabbis taught that he who failed to teach his son a trade in effect taught him to steal. Even the boy who was destined to be a scribe first learned a trade, as did Paul. It was no reproach to Jesus that he was a carpenter (Mark 6:3).

The entertainment of guests was among the Jews at once one of the pleasures of life and a sacred duty. The Old Testament abounds in references to acts of hospitality, and the New Testament gives instances both of guests invited to a meal (Mark 2:15; Luke 11:37; 14:1; John 12:2) and of friends or strangers entertained over night. Christ's illustration of the man who found himself with nothing to set before his friend who had come to him on his journey (Luke 11:5, 6) indicates that it was not the great or the wealthy only that were wont to show hospitality. Khans there were, to be sure, where a traveler might find shelter for himself and his beasts, but probably in most cases had to provide not only his own bedding but food for himself and provender for his animals. In such a khan it was that Joseph and Mary lodged and Jesus was born (Luke 2:7). Sometimes there was a keeper of the inn, from whom necessary food, etc., might be purchased (Luke 10:36). But these did not, by any means, displace the exercise of private hospitality. The instructions given by Jesus to his disciples when he sent them out to preach (Mark 6:7, 8; Luke 10:4-8) show that a traveler going from town to town might expect entertainment not only among his personal friends, but among comparative strangers, and that, too, without pay. In 1838 Edward Robinson traveled through certain regions where the ancient customs still prevailed, and was received everywhere as a guest without expense; an offer of pay was regarded as insulting (*Bib. Res.*, II, 19).

Among the elements of Jewish family life the feasts require at least brief mention. Though the three great feasts were observed at Jerusalem and the obligation to attend them was laid only on the male members of the family (Deut. 16:16), yet the women often went voluntarily, as did Mary the mother of Jesus (Luke 2:41), and the passover meal itself was observed as a family feast. Then the father explained to his children the origin and significance of the feast in accordance with the command of Ex. 12:26, 27. Even those who remained at home were reminded of the feast by the seven days' exclusion of leaven from the house (Ex. 12:19, 20). Among the influences that were at the same time intellectually educative, and quickening to patriotism and religion, and which tended to connect family life with both, the feasts were of the highest importance.

It was into a Jewish home of the humbler sort that Jesus was born. There was none of the elegance or the enervation that come with wealth. Industry must have excluded bitter poverty, which was in any case rare among the Jews, but Joseph, the village carpenter, probably never gave to his family of sons and daughters (Mark 6:3) more than the ordinary comforts of life. The glimpses we are afforded of the life in that home, elevated by love and permeated with religion, lead us to think of it as a noble example of the noblest type of family life the ancient world knew. Further than this only a reverent imagination guided by knowledge of him who came forth from that home to be the world's Teacher and the world's Saviour can carry us.

THE CHILD JESUS IN PAINTING.

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Pictures of Jesus are wholly imaginary.—Artists attempt to represent the ideal Christ.—Preëminence of Raphael in this field.—The Sistine Madonna.—Perugino's painting of the Christ-child.—Fra Angelico's conception.—The infant Jesus by Leonardo da Vinci.—Hoffman's picture of the boy Jesus at twelve.—Hunt's Finding of Jesus in the Temple.—Müller's representation of Joseph and Jesus.—Comparison of the earlier and the later pictures of the child Jesus.—Have these pictures benefited true religion?

It has been said lamentingly by lovers of art that the influence of Christianity, or rather of Roman Catholicism, has tended to the injury of painting by replacing the subjects and ideals that ancient classic paganism presented with subjects and ideals less fit and less lovely than those. The gods and goddesses of Greek mythology, the forms and faces of men and women exultant in strength or radiant in the bloom of youth and beauty, have given way, it is complained, to emaciated saints and lacerated martyrs, as springs of inspiration to the painter's brush and to the sculptor's chisel. Nobody that has made the tour of the great art galleries of Europe will deny that there is a measure of truth in this criticism. But, on the other hand, no such person can fail to feel that there has been, to say the least, a large compensation from the same source for the loss and damage that the cause of art has thus suffered. Christian history has supplied to artists some motives and subjects for their use surpassing in true value any that Greek or Roman paganism at its best had to offer. Among these, supreme in their power of appeal to the universal human heart, are the mother Mary and her son. Childhood may be said to have had hardly any place in the consideration of art—infancy, perhaps, to have had no place at all—until Christianity supplied it in the

story of the divine incarnation in Jesus of Nazareth. The purpose of the present paper is to set before readers, in reproductive.



RAPHAEL—THE SISTINE MADONNA

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illustration, accompanied by brief elucidating comment, a few select specimens of what the art of painting has done in the way of imagining and embodying ideals of the child Jesus.

In the first place it needs to be said, and to be said strongly, that there exists, and can exist, no representation of the person

of Jesus Christ, the infant, the youth, or the man, that is not purely and absolutely the product of imagination, and of imagination working without historic hint of any sort whatsoever to guide or to check it. We not only do not know how Jesus looked, but we do not know whether he was fair to see or the reverse; or whether, indeed, he may not have been of a quite undistinguished and indifferent personal appearance. There are texts of Scripture that favor each one of these different conceptions. In fact, they have each one of them at different times or in different places been entertained. Happily for art, happily for humanity, the conception that makes Jesus fair among the children of men has prevailed; and artists have vied with each other in seeking to glorify the Son of Man, sometimes, indeed, with pathetic, but always with superhuman, personal charm. This has been especially true of Jesus as infant and as child.

The problem presented to the artist undertaking to treat this theme, was one peculiarly, indeed uniquely, interesting. It stimulated and inspired alike by its nobleness and by its difficulty. It appealed to everything pure and high and arduously aspiring in the soul of the artist. The problem, in short, was nothing less than the reconciling, in a face that should be felt to be natural, of true infantile simplicity, innocence, unconsciousness, gaiety even, with a suggestion of depth, of thoughtfulness, of prescience, of pathos, rather divine than human. In the attempting of such a problem, not only genius, skill, and study would be brought into play, but equally the sentiment of worship, if that sentiment existed in the artist's soul. That sentiment certainly did sometimes exist, and a proper effect was then registered in the picture produced. In many other cases the poetic imagination of the artist had to do what it could to perform the part of the missing authentic sentiment of worship, and then the contrasted appropriate result would appear on the canvas. For Ruskin is probably right in maintaining that art is the truest language ever spoken to reflect the intimate spirit of the man that speaks it. As to his own real interior self, the artist cannot dissemble in his work. Whatever else he leaves out, he perforce puts himself into his picture.

One artist, of all the Christian ages down to the actual moment, enjoys an undisputed preëminence, and, thanks to a gracious personality in him commending his genius, a quite unenvied preëminence, among the painters that have treated the subject of the child Jesus. This could be no other than Raphael. Some fifty different pictures from his hand, or, if not wholly from his hand, at least in great part from his creative imagination, survive to attest the truly amazing fecundity of this great artist's genius displayed in depicting the mother Mary and her infant son. Of these pictures some, it is likely, were the fruit of collaboration with their master on the part of Raphael's pupils. Grace, celestial grace, is the circumfluous ether in which all these pictures seem, to the eye of the beholder, to float as if upborne by their own inherent buoyancy. Everybody knows the so-called Sistine Madonna (see page 459). That is, indeed, probably the best-known picture in the world. It makes the fame of the Dresden gallery, where it hangs with every advantage of artistic display to enhance the luminous, almost apocalyptic, effect it instantaneously produces on the sympathetic spectator. The picture is so familiar in reproductions that we might almost dispense with exhibiting it here; but that very familiarity is proof of its being too dear to the popular heart to be passed by in a paper like this.

The just interpretation of this familiar picture requires some little attention to details. The proportion of parts is so perfect that the central figures inevitably attract at first, as they ought to do, the almost exclusive notice of the observer. The Madonna is treated as Queen of Heaven. This is, of course, a distinctly Roman Catholic element in the artist's conception, which the Protestant student, intent on æsthetic appreciation, can afford to overlook. The thought of it is, however, necessary in order to the understanding of the extraordinary pose and situation of the mother. She appears supported on a radiant cloud; or, indeed, rather as needing no support, but self-buoyant like the cloud itself. About her is a nimbus of angels beholding and wondering. These forms and faces are almost lost to view, effaced in the cloud of which they seem to form a part. On either side are

the kneeling figures of Pope Sixtus and Saint Barbara. The anachronisms thus involved are obvious, but they need not disturb our enjoyment. They are, considered in themselves alone, without reference to historic propriety, very noble adjuncts to the picture, helping to balance it and to set off, by contrast of pose and expression, the transcendent majesty intended by the artist to be attributed to the mother and the son. That the mother appears comparatively too commanding a figure, is due to the overweening homage paid to her in the Roman Catholic cult. It would be unreasonable to expect Raphael to transcend his age and environment sufficiently to avoid this error. The rapt expression of the Madonna's face is a wonderfully composite expression, made up of a certain timid wonder at her own exaltation—a sentiment which is overcome by an exquisite humility of acquiescence in her heavenly calling—maiden modesty reconciled with angelic motherhood, and radiant over all, and, as it were, translucent through all, a purity for which there is no fit parallel to express it by comparison. When you can withdraw your eye from studying and admiring the expression of the face, you may spend a long leisure in dwelling with satisfaction and delight on the incomparable dignity and grace of the whole figure, with its flowing folds of vestment, from the simply parted hair down to the unconscious loveliness of the feet.

But it is the infant son in the mother's arms that it really belongs to us here to study. How ineffably fair in infantile beauty, while how miraculously transfigured from human to divine in the noble depth of expression imprinted on the face, or rather shining through it! And then the "starlike sorrows of immortal eyes," with a gaze in them as if betokening "thoughts that wander through eternity"! It is very probably conjectured that the infant angels that rest on the bar at the bottom of the canvas and look up with wonder and worship, were an after-thought of the artist, painted in subsequently to the completing of the rest of the picture. There is a fine fitness of congruity between the two types of infancy, the divine-human and the angelic, thus brought together in mutually illuminating comparison and contrast.

We shall be obliged to limit ourselves here to not more than eight illustrations of our subject. If we should select these on the ground of artistic value merely, or on the ground of this together with the fame of the artist producing them, we should hardly have occasion to go away from Raphael for our purpose. Probably no other artist could offer us a single picture of the child Jesus on the whole superior in interest to any one of six or eight that we could find from Raphael's hand (see p. 422). But, for the sake of variety, we shall, after one delay further with Raphael, go to other artists for the rest of our illustrations. An assemblage has been made of the heads of the infant Jesus, taken from various pieces of Raphael. This we here reproduce. It will be seen that the topmost head is from the picture just shown, which goes generally by the name of the Sistine Madonna. This head is worthy of the præminence which, by the present arrangement, it enjoys. The head next it, seeking to nestle against it, is almost equally familiar, being that belonging to the picture known as the Madonna della Seggiola or della Sedia [Madonna of the Chair]. A little more pure softness of expression, a little less wistful prescience in the eye, a tenderer infantile age, seem to difference this head from that against which it leans as if supporting itself on an elder brother's shoulder. The head directly under the one last noticed is from the Madonna della Casa Tempi. This loses more than the other two do by separation from the picture to which it belongs; it suffers, too, in comparison by not showing us so much frank front aspect. The head to the left of this last, having the upward-looking face, is lovelier again. It is taken from *La Belle Jardinière* [The Beautiful (female) Gardener], so-called from the surrounding of landscape given the mother in the painting. It is truly wonderful what divine loveliness of expression the genius, the art, and the gracious personality of the painter have combined to impart to the eye shown us in this picture, which, the pose of the head being such, is almost alone depended upon to secure the desired effect. The soft, moulded fullness of the cheek and chin, the lips opening like the opening bud of a flower, contribute something; and then the sweet, affectionate, appealing, upward turn

of the head —altogether it is rather the picture of a very lovely human child than the suggestion of a theanthropic infant such as appears to have been attempted by eminence in the canvas of the Sistine Madonna. The sleeping child in the center of the picture needs no descriptive comment ; but the longer one dwells with the eye upon the pure beatified peace of the face, the more one feels the artist's power in repose. The head to the Sistine's right is from a picture called the Bridgewater Madonna and owned in England. It is perhaps the least interesting member of the group of infant Christs here displayed. The two heads opposite each other on the extreme right and left of the picture are heads of the infant John Baptist. The one on the right will be recognized as that seen in the Madonna della Sedia. The other seems to be that of the La Belle Jardinière, but it is shown reversed. It ought to be added that these identifications though submitted by the present writer with some confidence, are subject to correction.

It will be interesting to run back from Raphael to Perugino, his master, that we may get a hint of the example and culture through which the genius of the more famous pupil was nourished and guided. Art does not, more than Nature, make her progress by leaps ; Raphael owes much to his predecessors. The original of the picture by Perugino which we present hangs in the Pitti Palace in Florence. The canvas has suffered somewhat, and the reproduction of course sympathizes. But it is easy to see that on such a pupil as Raphael such a master as Perugino must have had an influence no less fine in quality than it was great in quantity. The transition is not abrupt from the tranquil sweetness and purity of Perugino's atmosphere and handling to the serene seraphic beauty of Raphael's work. The mother stands in flowing vestment with head declined and eyes downcast toward the babe, whom, with her hands pressed together before her breast, she seems less to love and admire than to worship. The nursemaid holds the child and regards the mother as if to catch from her the sentiment proper for herself ; one is reminded of that saying of the psalm, "As the eyes of a maiden [look] unto the hand of her mistress." Retired half

behind the mother Mary, little John Baptist, quite by himself, clasps his hands in a gesture of adoration well befitting his pensive, precocious, prophetic face. Jesus, doubling his fist against his chin in true infantile sort, raises his eyes toward his mother with



PERUGINO—MADONNA AND CHILD

an expression of ruth in them, as if he felt by prescient sympathy the sword that was to pierce through her own soul also, in the future passion of her son. It is a noble treatment, not unworthy to have forerun the greater pupil's handling of the same subject.

Let us recede once more, going back the space of one generation behind Perugino to Fra Angelico, surnamed The Blessed. As the prefix Fra [Brother] imports, this painter was a friar. His character and life, if all tradition can be trusted, confirmed as it is by the testimony of the work surviving from his hand, were everything that could tend to fit a man for producing pic-

tures seven times purified in quality. He painted in a spirit of religious devotion. It is related of him that whenever he took up his brush he prepared himself for using it by an exercise of prayer. The result is that an air of sanctity consecrates his



FRA ANGELICO—MADONNA
DELLA STELLA

canvases, beyond even the purity that Raphael drew from the depths of his gracious nature and his poetic imagination. The hallowed peace that saint and angel express in Fra Angelico's pictures is like a glimpse of heaven. He was a charming colorist, but of course our present reproductions necessarily lose the effect due to the soft delicious blending of those harmonious hues which, against the golden background characteristic of him, heighten so the charm of his pictures. But there is grace enough in face and form and pose and vesture to leave the lack of color hardly missed, except to those who have grown familiar with the originals. The piece we show bears the name of the

Madonna della Stella, a name derived from the star pictured on the forehead of the Mother. The crown unobtrusively suspended over her head suggests the idea of the coronation of the Virgin. Her face might at first seem too miniature-like to express the strength and character we should wish to find in an ideal representation of the mother of our Lord. But it is not strength that we should look for in Fra Angelico's work; it is the beauty of holiness. The divine babe nestles to his mother, a fondling finger pressed to her chin; but the regard of his eyes is outward as if gazing far away and piercing into futurity. One can imagine that the infant Saviour already foresees his cross. It belonged to the maiden-like modesty, the cloistered

chastity, perhaps even the severe moral sense, of Fra Angelico's taste and imagination, that, as will be observed, he clothes his infant Jesus; not depending at all for his effect on exhibition of nude flesh, even in the case of infancy, where nearly if not all



LEONARDO DA VINCI—MADONNA AND CHILD

other artists feel quite released from any necessity to use drapery. The colors employed by Fra Angelico in the present picture (which is part of an altar-piece done in panels) are a softly brilliant blue for the outer robe of the Virgin, with pale yellow for the lining slightly displayed in narrow edges where it chances to turn back, and a sober red for the under dress. The babe is enveloped in a vesture of this latter color. All is set off against a background of gold, according to Fra Angelico's habit, already mentioned, in painting.

Returning to the time of Raphael's master Perugino, we

encounter the stately figure of Leonardo da Vinci, whose fame, like that of Raphael (and that of Michael Angelo still more) is the fame of a various, not to say universal, genius, and not of a painter merely. We are able to present an infant Jesus from his hand that is impressed with a distinction and an elevated character recognizably the artist's own sign manual. The mother and the son have just the likeness to each other that seems fit. It is a grave and noble beauty that moulds and informs the face of Mary, while the son, standing beside her, condescends as from a conscious majesty divine to show his blended infantile human nature by toying with a slender lily stem held in the hand of his mother. The two do not look at one another; but the air of both is as if, without exchange of looks, the sympathy and understanding between them were perfect. There is perhaps a trace of something like what we might be tempted to call precocity in the child's face; but this, if it is really present, is of course to be interpreted as an attempt, not quite absolutely successful, on the artist's part, to produce an effect of divinity in the expression. The fine severity of taste reigning in the picture, the serene dignity of it, are admirable beyond praise. It is an exquisite work of art. But we need in this picture, as in all the others shown, to overlook a disregard, on the painter's part, of certain obvious historic probabilities. For instance, here there is far too much costly elegance of costume, and too much suggestion of drawing-room propriety, to fit the circumstances of a child born, as Jesus was, son to a carpenter and cradled in a manger. But this is only saying in effect that the great Italian masters of the brush were not realists in art. They idealized freely and they were willing to produce their impressions on the observer by some sacrifice of mere raw fidelity in the matter of fact to noble fictions of the imagination.

Let us make an abrupt transition from the classic art of the Renaissance period to the art of our own times. Heinrich Hoffmann is a German painter who has treated Bible themes with much popular acceptance. We give a picture of his representing Jesus no longer a babe, but now a boy of twelve (see p. 451). The subject is the Disputation in the Temple. The light, as it should

do, centers upon the face and figure of the child, standing in the midst of doctors of the law, who listen with various expressions of countenance to the wonderful utterances issuing from those youthful lips; or, more accurately, who regard the boy in silent perplexity caused by something he has just said—for his lips are now closed. The attitudes and the looks of the different personages are very carefully studied, to indicate their imagined different characters and different present dispositions toward what is here unexpectedly confronting them. The somewhat severe face of the man sitting in the foreground to the right, who holds the book on his knees and who perhaps feels responsible for not being unduly moved, expresses, in the firm, almost hard, closure of the lips, determined impenetrability to truth proceeding from such a source as the boy before him. The younger man next him bends toward Jesus with much more benignity, if not even with some openness to impression, betrayed in his half-yearning mien. The venerable figure beyond this one, who stands leaning, like Jacob, upon the top of his staff, has a somewhat crass worldly look of some curiosity, but more incredulity. The man to the right of Jesus grasps his beard and rests his chin in his hand, with an air of sincere, though perplexed, inquiry, betokening some accessibleness on his part to divine communication coming even from the mouth of such a child. But these various figures are of course but accessories and foils to the figure of Jesus himself. A suggestion of supernatural light in aureole beams from the head of the boy, whose illumined countenance is self-luminous as well and seems to diffuse light. It has evidently been the effort of the artist to blend in the boy's attitude and expression a beautiful modesty of childhood with a half-unconscious, half-conscious direct vision of truth. There may be suspected in the picture a verging toward manneristic sentimentalism weakening somewhat the impression of nobility and strength which a treatment of this subject ought to produce. But it is a piece of work well adapted to give general satisfaction.

Our next picture is of the Finding of Jesus in the Temple. The painter is an Englishman, Holman Hunt, an artist perhaps

entitled to be considered the head of the so-called Preraphaelite school. The figures here are somewhat numerous, and they are portrayed with all that painstakingly minute fidelity to fact and to nature which is the characteristic of this group of artists.



HOLMAN HUNT—THE FINDING OF JESUS IN THE TEMPLE

But the interest of course belongs to the boy Jesus himself, with his mother and Joseph. The mother has already succeeded in detaching her son from his engagement with the Jewish doctors, and—one of her arms thrown lovingly about him to a rest on his shoulder, while on the other, upraised, is responsively laid a hand of the boy—she is whispering in his attentive ear. The parted lips indicate this action on her part as still in progress. The concern, the affectionate reproach, expressed in her countenance suggests that she is saying: "Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? Behold, thy father and I sought thee sorrowing." The son has not yet made his immortally memorable reply: "How is it that ye sought me? Wist ye not that I must be in my Father's house?"—but the wide-open eyes, looking out with such far speculation into space, indicate sufficiently what the nature of the reply will be. Joseph, with noble reserve,

stands retired behind the mother, adding fit foil of contrast to the two principal figures in front. The son appears to listen loyally to his mother, while yet his expression suggests a sense in him of paramount loyalty and obedience owed to his Father in heaven. Some scrutinizing students of his face may suspect in themselves a feeling that the artist has overstrained the intensity of the look and produced an effect as if the boy were not an example of perfectly normal, wholesome boyhood, but had become precocious through an experience of some sort of suffering. The execution of the picture, it will be observed, is singularly elaborate and finished in every detail. There is nothing of the indistinctness of "impressionism."

We present finally another German picture (see p. 447). It would seem as if perhaps the painter, Karl Müller, had sought, in one instance at least, to do something towards redressing the balance between Mary and Joseph in the representations of art, by substituting for the mother her husband in his treatment. The motive has certainly the interest and the merit of difference and novelty. The father, who bears a face much resembling the conventional face of Christ in art, stands patiently instructing his wonderful boy. Such, at any rate, is the apparent intention of the picture. But the boy seems, in his wise docility, his docile wisdom, to have surprised Joseph into the attitude rather of one instructed than of one instructing. The father has involuntarily placed his open palm against his breast, as if in an awe before the boy like the awe of worship. The boy, who is made almost feminine in the extreme delicacy of his beauty, looks up with revelation, almost more than inquiry, into his father's face. "Hyacinthine locks," like those of Milton's Adam, curl clustering down his neck. On the whole, one needs to see the fine circlet of halo around the head to be sure that this figure is really that of the boy Jesus. Without that, the careless observer might have quite mistaken the meaning of the picture, and, misled by the Christlikeness of Joseph's head, have understood the artist's purpose to be to represent the Saviour instructing an ideal boy. It was no doubt a mistake in judgment and in taste on the artist's part to introduce such a resemblance into his portrait of

Joseph. It might even raise the suspicion of an ulterior purpose in his mind, to suggest an idea repugnant to the just sense of those who accept for literally true the evangelist's story of the birth of Jesus. The leaf and flower that frame the two figures are quite in the somewhat sentimental taste that characterizes the whole treatment.

If the pictures here shown may fairly be taken, and probably they may, as representative of the two types of treatment, the older ideal portraits of Jesus in art will by most be felt to have more depth of tone, not only in respect of technique, but in feeling, than the newer ones; more faith, more sincerity, more of the sentiment of awe and of worship. The spirit of the earlier age was more favorable to such treatment of such a subject.

I have left myself no room to discuss a question very naturally raised by the subject here treated, viz., Has religion been on the whole a gainer from the fictile representations by painters of the face and form of the Madonna and of Jesus? If religion be largely understood to include such interests as culture and humanity, there can be no doubt of the true reply to our question; religion so understood has certainly been a gainer. If, on the other hand, religion be confined to the central idea of obedience to God, there is more chance for divergence of opinion. There is always danger that the æsthetic and the sentimental interest will usurp what belongs properly to the authentic religious interest alone. To dwell in thought on the Christ of the gospels and the epistles, to seek to become ourselves living copies of the divine portrait therein shown, would certainly be better than any amount, or any degree, of joy in appreciation of art, even of art employed in ideal representations of the incarnate Lord. What may seem less like a homiletic lesson, it would probably be also in result a better cultivation of both the taste and the sentiments.

CHRISTIANITY AND CHILDREN.

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Christianity from a cradle.—Religion sanctifies natural affection.—The teaching of Jesus as to the holiness of childhood.—Children have a value.—Historic service of the church.—Evils of pagan custom.—Renaissance and Reformation.—Free schools.—Patience of teacher.—Education of daughters.—Debt and duty owed to children.—Regenerative energies latent in the church.—Hope of mankind in the life of youth.

HISTORIC Christianity begins with the Holy Night, represented by Correggio as a scene of commonplace reality and coarseness glorified by a radiance which streamed from the Divine Infant. The Son of Man began as a babe, passed through the typical phases of human life, and sanctified all. When the Logos gave himself in revelation to humanity he entered its life by the lowly gate of humble birth. Milton's "Hymn on Christ's Nativity" sings of the peaceful hour which ushered in a reign of peace and good will. Enchanted shepherds listened to the heavenly song of hope:

"Time will run back and fetch the age of gold ;
And speckled vanity
Will sicken soon and die,
And leprous sin will melt from earthly mould.
Yea, Truth and Justice then
Will down return to men.
Orb'd in a rainbow ; and, like glories wearing,
Mercy will sit between,
Throned in celestial sheen."

For thus the classic poet of Puritanism has interpreted the angelic praises: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace among men."

Childhood and love of children were not new elements. The necessities of prolonged infancy had made the family. It

was not the love of man and woman for each other so much as the appeal of wailing and helpless infancy which led the first steps of human progress and, at the dawn of recorded time, cemented and ennobled the family. Jesus came not to create the family but to regenerate it. He found it existing as a providential fact, but full of evil, because man was evil. He saw in it the possibilities of the divine ideal which shaped it.

Among those ancient Aryan peoples from whom we have sprung the House Spirit, the ancestor, was an object of affectionate and loyal worship, of confidence and love. Offerings were made to the powerful shades, and for thousands of years a real flame was kindled on the hearth where the meal was shared with living and dead. The safety and happiness of the household seemed to them to depend on the favor of these invisible and deified members of the family. The oldest son was selected to succeed his father as priest, and it was his duty to propitiate the favor of the familiar spirit. It was regarded as a great calamity if there was no son to offer the funereal honors. A similar feeling prevails in China and other countries to this day. Under the influence of this belief, which seems so strange to us, a son was greatly desired, and parental instincts were fostered by the belief. But a daughter was of less value. A deformed or superfluous son might be refused by his father and left to perish. The child was valued primarily for the sake of the household, not for its own intrinsic worth. When the ancient city states grew up this sentiment was persistent and children were regarded in the light of political interests. Natural affection always influenced conduct, and this was particularly true of mothers. But even natural affection became blunted by the extremes of luxury and misery in the Roman Empire before Christ appeared.

Christianity changed the point of view. The object of worship could no longer be a household god or national deity, but must be the Universal Father. There is no selection of the oldest son to represent the family, for all are priests unto God. Utility to the state is no longer the standard of judgment, for even the weakest son of Adam has in him the possibilities of full citizenship in the kingdom of God. These teachings were

revolutionary and made childhood central in the new Christian society. The early chapters of Matthew and Luke made an impression on the church which could never be erased. There was sketched in outline a model for childhood, instructive to parents, attractive to the young. The few fragmentary hints in the evangel have supplied poets, musicians, sculptors, painters, and orators with pathetic and inspiring motives. Poverty there felt fellowship, and moral beauty asked for adequate artistic expression. The very gaps in the story leave room for the innocent recreations of imagination, for apocryphal tales, poetic fancies, and mystical symbols of a divine presence.

The teachings of Jesus in his public ministry gave articulate voice to the meaning of his child life. We read of his tender yet dignified treatment of mothers and children, in painful contrast with the narrow and harsh protest of his disciples, and the disposition of the Divine Father shines about the sacred page. A simple hymn of our childhood tells the instinctive response to the story :

"I wish that his hands had been placed on my head,
That his arms had been thrown around me;
And that I might have seen his kind looks when he said,
'Let the little ones come unto me.'"

These teachings of Jesus reveal the estimate of childhood there in heaven where all stands clear in its true character. "Of such is the kingdom of heaven." "Their angels do always behold the face of my Father." He who knew best of all the fearful possibilities of hereditary evil dared to utter such encomiums, dared to set forth a child as, in some sense, a type of the character he had come to create. Obedience, filial trust, innocence, promise fair of every good quality, absence of prejudice, an open heart "fit for the seeds of virtue strewed," were elements which won his praise and showed his intention.

The teaching of Jesus has always awakened in sympathetic minds a feeling that children are desirable to complete life, to awaken in parents a sense of responsibility, to steady and moderate lower impulses, to make the family a fruitful branch of the vine of life eternal. That holy doctrine of childhood, based on the authority of the incomparable Teacher, tends to

make a corrupting example seem hideous and revolting to conscience and heart; to make sacrifices for offspring a part of devotion to God; to awaken aspiration to live so purely, nobly, wisely, and unselfishly that tiny feet may safely follow the paths we choose for ourselves; to make marriage more than a legal contract for personal gratification, to make it indissoluble even under the tests of trial and friction, for the sake of the little ones to whom divorce would mean shame, misery, and ruin.

The historic services of the church on behalf of youth are illuminations of the sacred text, an embodiment of the holy ambitions of the young Christ:

“When I was yet a child no childish play
To me was pleasing; all my mind was set
Serious to learn and know, and thence to do,
What might be public good; myself I thought
Born to that end.”

Jesus is still about his Father's business, in his Father's house, which is this world where work may be the best worship. He is still with his people, erasing the scribbled legends from the palimpsest of his gospel and interpreting in social philanthropies the heart of his message.

Out of the life and teachings of Christ and his apostles have grown the historic forces and institutions of organized Christianity in the world's life. No man understands the New Testament unless he has read the commentary which the holy charity of the church has written on the pages of history. It is useless to attempt to dissect the service rendered by the church from other elements. The task is as impossible as to distinguish the waters of rivers in the Gulf of Mexico. All good is Christian. Moonlight is reflected sunlight. If more exact historical investigation some day shows that sanctifying power touched the ancient family other than that ministered by priest or presbyter, we shall not admit that this purifying energy was not due to the immanent Christ “by whom he made the worlds.” Why should we take gems from Christ's crown by refusing to credit to the Logos the moral grandeur of stoicism? Unquestionably stoicism did much to mitigate the evils which degraded

children at Rome, although it fell far short of the teaching which Jesus brought. The church itself is "not that light," but only a lamp stand, and not always even a trusty torchbearer.

Making all concessions to the merit of stoicism, and confessing all just charges of ecclesiastical defect, we are still justified in asserting that the church never quite forgot the manger of Bethlehem. Even the ascetic monk, in his vision of innocence, might take the Christ Child in his arms while his cell seemed flooded with golden rays, "rich and like a lily in bloom." We must leave to another article in this number the theme of artistic treatment of this subject. Yet there is a vital bond between art and social service, for both are aspects and expressions of the same beliefs, aspirations, hopes. The same Spirit of Jesus which raised Raphael to the height of the Sistine Madonna also moved Savonarola, Luther, St. Francis, Fliedner, Wichern, C. L. Brace, Pestalozzi, Froebel and a host of teachers to their social ministry for childhood. Spurgeon challenged the skeptical world with his ringing words: "The God that answers by orphanages, let him be God."

Christianity, in the church of the heroic ages, contended against inveterate evils of pagan custom. The conduct of that decadent empire in respect to children is revolting beyond description. Many of the rich, luxurious, and voluptuous hated the very thought of having the care of the young. The responsibilities of motherhood were avoided in every possible way and women of noble rank freed themselves of unwelcome burdens by infanticide and without rebuke. Even the ancient dread of the House Spirit did not restrain these evils, while both premiums and penalties of the state failed to correct the fatal corruption of faith and manners. The rearing of offspring was only too frequently left to ignorant and debased slaves. From ancient times the father had possessed and used the right to expose son or daughter to vultures, frost, or slave-hunters.

From the first the church diffused in the Roman empire the Hebrew yearning for children, made more tender by sweet memories of the Divine Babe, made universal by the doctrine of human brotherhood. Therefore bishops went about to gather

up waifs and foundlings and gave to holy women the care of deformed and abandoned infants. The penitential discipline did not fail to censure and punish members of the church for acts which among their heathen neighbors were regarded as venial faults.

There is a darker side. Asceticism, deepening poverty, invasions of rude barbarians, darkening clouds of ignorance, rank superstition, misleading heresies of dualism, ecclesiastical ambition and chiliasm continued to corrupt the fair doctrine of Jesus and dilute his influence. But even then Christianity grafted its benign teaching upon the rude stock of Germanic life. Faith blossomed not only in altar pieces but in hospitals and asylums, in schools and in watchful care of tempted and imperiled youth.

The Renaissance, turbid with defiling elements, was yet a reassertion of the worth, beauty, and joy of healthy life and natural affection. On its darker side it was sensual but on the better side it affirmed the goodness of the Creator and of his works. In the Puritan revolt under Savonarola we see glimpses of white-robed boys moving in procession to protest against the pagan excesses of the period.

The Reformation gave to the modern world the pastor's family. This type of family is not without its pathetic and even ridiculous side. Much cheap sarcasm, not altogether without shrewd reason, has assailed it. Society is only too prone to make the parson extremely poor and then to scold him because his numerous children suffer. The parson has sometimes been in fault. But impartial judgment shows another side. The pastor's house in Germany, Switzerland, Holland, England and New England has been the home of simple culture, of "plain living and high thinking." Take out of the literature and social life of those nations the products, direct and indirect, of manse and parsonage, and the world's spiritual riches would suffer incalculably.

The free common schools, secular and "godless" as some assert, are clearly a product of Christian influences. They are in direct and historic line with the church schools of the bishops of early days, of the monastic schools of the Middle Ages, of

the institutions patronized by Charlemagne, of those created by Luther and of the prophetic establishments of our New England fathers. If our American secular schools have little direct religious teaching, they are at least conducted by persons who embody, in the main, Christian ideals of character and conduct. Another institution, the Sunday school, has been developed in America as nowhere else, just because the church could not depend on the state for religious teaching. Never before was seen such a magnificent army of unpaid voluntary instructors, giving their lives to the holiest task of humanity. State-supported schools, ruled by political parties, might give better intellectual instruction, but could never supply the moral enthusiasm and inventive spirit of these most free schools of piety and patriotism. Nothing but united effort of all Christians is wanted to bring Christian teaching within the reach of every child.

Christian faith and hope sustain the patience which is required for the rearing of children. There must be a high estimate of the possibilities of the young immortals, new to earth and sky. Such faith inspired the words of Ascham: "Some men, friendly enough of nature, but of small judgment in learninge, do thinke, I take to moch paines, and spend to moch time, in settinge forth these childrens affaires. But those good men were never brought up in Socrates Schole, who saith plainlie, that no man goeth about a more godlie purpose, than he that is mindfull of the good bringing up, both of hys owne, and other mens children. . . . In writing this booke, I have had earnest respecte to three speciall pointes, trothe of Religion, honestie in living, right order in learninge. In which three waies, I praie God, my poore children may diligently waulke; for whose sake, as nature would, and reason required, or necessitie also somewhat compelled, I was the willinger to take these paines." And what ill-paid teacher has not enjoyed the revenge of this noble resentment: "And it is pitie, that commonlie, more care is had to finde out a cuninge man for their horse, than a cuninge man for their children. . . . God that sitteth in heaven laugheth their choice to skorne, and rewardeth their liberalitie as it

should: for he suffereth them to have tame and well ordered horse, but wilde and unfortunate children: and therefore in the ende they finde more pleasure in their horse than comforte in their children."

The expansion of Christian ideas must lead to care for the superior education of girls. The stage of culture reached by a people is measured by their treatment of women and girls. We may admit that the particular methods of co-education are under trial, and that the experiment is not yet wide enough for confident generalizations. But co-education does at least signify that every girl shall have an equal opportunity with her brother to find out her powers. The path to the sunny heights of university life shall be opened to her and she shall have sufficient discipline and knowledge to enable her to make a choice among all good ways, and not be held to a narrow field of selection.

There is a sense in which the church owes a debt to children. How could we attach any meaning to the Lord's prayer to "Our Father" if we had not had a race training in filial piety? The hour of regeneration often comes to a selfish and worldly man with the birth of his first child. It was so with Pestalozzi. In his wife's diary he wrote: "Send me thy spirit from on high. Give me now new strength, create in me a new heart, fresh zeal. Oh, my son, my son! Horrible thought! If I were to fail in my duty to thee, if I were to lead thee astray from thy proper path, thou mightest some day before the Judge be the accuser of thy father, of him whose duty it was to lead thee aright." A little child, walking in meditation by her father on a starry evening after a beautiful Sabbath, released him from life weariness and brought his mind to God by saying: "Papa, don't you think the angels were in the world today?" Wordsworth tells us how the boy, keeping company with the shepherd father, led him upward:

"From the boy there came
Feelings and emanations — things which were
Light to the sun and music to the wind;
And that the old man's heart seemed born again."

And Mrs. Browning notes the same influence of children hanging on the mother's neck and making her a better woman :

" Ah me, the vines
That bear such fruit are proud to stoop with it ;
The palm stands upright in a realm of sand."

And if we owe children a debt we owe them a duty. The work of the church for neglected childhood is not yet done ; and as the great factory system invades our agricultural West one state after another will be required to protect infancy from greed and ignorance and forgetfulness. Even now we may, if we have sensitive spirits, hear the "cry of the children" of the huge shops. Read the reports of factory inspectors in almost any state, but especially where public attention has not been aroused, and listen to the cry :

" 'Grief has made us unbelieving,—
We look up for God, but tears have made us blind.'
Do you hear the children weeping and disproving,
O my brothers, what ye preach?
For God's possible is taught by his world's loving—
And the children doubt of each."

"How long, O cruel nation,
Will you stand, to move the world, on a child's heart?"

We are coming to recognize the voice of Christ in this appeal. We are coming to what noble Oscar McCulloch loved to call the "Church of the Divine Fragments," whose duty it is to gather up all the fragments that nothing be lost. Pedagogical science and art are now engaged in developing special methods for bringing backward and feeble-minded children to the full stature of which they are capable. When we have provided adequately for the imbecile we have reached the last stratum of human need, but we are far from attaining that goal.

If our task is not yet done, neither is the power latent in Christianity exhausted. There is the power of the endless life. The church is constantly creating higher ideals of duty, ever judging itself by worthier standards, ever more remorseful for neglect, ever more deeply moved by the story of the Divine

Child. If the church grows cold the Scripture reading in public worship or family devotions kindles afresh the sacred flame. And if the church had never done anything but give Christmas, with its associations, to the world, it would have deserved well of philanthropy. The genius of Dickens has illustrated the power of that holiday to awaken affection and renew life with even a selfish man. By reason of Christian motives kindergartens are multiplied, not merely to reform the hardened offender, but rather to anticipate the inroads of evil and start the youth aright at the parting of the ways. The church is realizing the truth of biology, and is assimilating the revelations of exact science with the spiritual impulses of charity and faith. The frequent use of the words heredity and environment in religious appeals is witness to this process. Tennyson, the great Christian poet, has taught us how children, stolen in infancy by a she-wolf,

"Housed

In her foul den, there at their meat would growl,
And mock their foster mother on four feet,
Till, straightened, they grew up wolf-like men,
Worse than wolves."

A long space stretches between the Nazareth Boy and the social revolutions of the twentieth century. But at the heart of all the fermenting energy of goodness is the truth of the holy childhood of Jesus. The reverent study of the advent, accompanied by carols and anthems, starts millions of generous youth in an upward direction, and wings their ambitions with hope, and faith, and love. The deathless Book is a fountain of eternal life. The study of the life of Christ is the well of noblest social forces. The sciences which deal with explanation could not exist in their present form if creative Christianity had not furnished the material.

"The best is yet to be,

The last of life, for which the first was made.
Our times are in His hand —
Who saith, 'A whole I planned,
Youth shows but half ; trust God, see all, nor be afraid.' "

Aids to Bible Readers.

THE FORESHADOWINGS OF THE CHRIST. II.

By GEORGE S. GOODSPEED,
The University of Chicago.

Historical progress from Moses to David.—The Monarchy the great achievement.—David and Solomon.—I. The Davidic Promises and Hopes.—II. The Monarchy glorified in Song:—Aspects of the psalm literature;—The Foreshadowings;—(1) Jehovah's relation to the monarchy;—(2) Position and Prospects of the King;—(3) Future of the Nation under the Monarchy.—III. Larger Ideals.—Summary.

III. FORESHADOWINGS FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM.

THE book of Judges contains the oldest memorials of the struggle of the newly formed nation for possession of the promised land and for unity and organization. It was not so very long a contest, but its intensity was proportioned to the important principles that were at stake. The Mosaic constitution, only partially apprehended by the people at large, came face to face with the attractive but less fruitful and lofty elements of the Canaanitish faith and life. The victory was first in the sphere of religion, though not without concessions on the part of the victors. The steady advance towards unity of political organization was assisted by the victory of Jehovah over Baal.

The outcome of the age was the establishment of the monarchy. The earliest accounts in the book of Samuel have preserved the record of the gladness with which the nation hailed this consummation, while at the same time traces remain of the doubt and questioning, if not opposition, with which this step was met by some who were most loyal to Jehovah. Samuel stands as the central figure, the patriotic leader, the founder of the true Jehovah prophets, the mediator of the transition to the new monarchy. Saul, the first king, failed to realize the meaning of his exaltation, handicapped, perhaps, by external circumstances and his imperfect religious training, as well as by his own weaknesses of nature and character. With David and Solomon the monarchy advanced rapidly to a position of considerable power and

influence. External circumstances in their days were favorable. Great nations round about them, Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, were in a state of decline. No power stood forth in western Asia at this critical period to oppose Israel. The nation now, as never before, realized its unity and its opportunity. Both religion and politics were animated by high aspirations. The two great kings themselves possessed remarkable characteristics of mind. David was the born leader, the attractive, lovable hero who knew how to bind men to himself and use them in the accomplishment of his wide-reaching designs; frank, impetuous, fervently religious, yet easily led away by passion, a heroic character such as Israel had never before produced. Solomon, on the other hand, building upon the foundation of David, was a typical oriental monarch. He brought the nation into the great current of world history. Developing commerce and trade, he filled the land with wealth, and organized into a firm structure the elements which David had attached to himself. At the same time he had the weaknesses of an eastern despot, and these have been recorded for us along with his more creditable achievements.

Both kings were prominent in the worship of Jehovah. What David planned when he brought the ark to Jerusalem, the city which he had already made his political capital, Solomon carried out by the building of a temple which constituted the religious rallying place of the people, and which preserved, in their purest form, the rites and worship of the nation.

Thus the period constitutes a brilliant epoch in the history of Israel. The nation comes of age. New life and light enter on every hand. Realizations of much that was hitherto merely germinant in the social and religious organization appear. Hence the material for the religious thinkers of later days, for the exercise of the prophetic insight of the following epochs, is abundant, and offers much that is central and vital for Israel's religion. Here is a vast field for religious contemplation and inspiration; opened to both prophet and priest, from which to rise to larger and higher anticipations. Prophetic and priestly histories dwell upon the times of David and Solomon with peculiar relish. The elements that center in or about the monarchy afford to them unceasing subjects for teaching and hope. Poetry comes with its garland of praise, with its deep insight, to the interpretation and glorification of the kingdom. The psalm literature whose themes are taken from this field is abundant and important. All the material, with the exception, perhaps, of one or two passages, may be

studied, indeed, from this one point of view—the monarchy and its promise.

I. *The Davidic promises and hopes.*—2 Samuel 7:11-16; Psalm 18:43-50; 2 Samuel 23:1-7. These three passages gather about the person of the great king himself. They contain the prophetic view of his own consciousness and that of his age as to the character and destiny of his royal line. The connection between David and Jehovah was so close and intimate, the fidelity of the monarch to his God was so marked, and the consequent justice, peace and prosperity of his reign were so evident, that all constituted a pledge for the future which could not but be cherished. The monarchy now established would be permanent. The family now occupying it would be continued there. The prophet could not overlook the manifest defects of David's reign and those of his successors. He as well as they would suffer punishment, which for them would be chastisement coming through the disasters and difficulties besetting the state. It was nevertheless impossible that the divine mercy should not rule more permanently and potently than the wrath. The Davidic line absorbs into itself, in the ideal picture, the life of the state and the religion. It represents all that is vital and energizing in the body politic; it is the source of power and blessing. It is the object and channel of Jehovah's favor. Nothing higher appears in the prophet's vision. The future, therefore, is secure to it and in its hands. The seer beholds all this prospect unfolding before David himself who is assured an everlasting future of ultimate triumph in the house which, under Jehovah's favor, he is now to establish.

II. *The monarchy glorified in song.*—Psalms 2; 24; 45; 72; 110; 1 Samuel 2:1-10. When we consider these psalms from the point of view which we have chosen, viz., the historical, it is seen that some important modifications must be made in the ordinary conception of them.

(1) They are inspired by definite historical situations belonging to the singer's own time. It is by no means easy in the case of all these psalms to determine this historical situation, and in the case of some quite impossible. This is not strange, since it is the function of poetry to generalize incidents, facts, and persons, and to see particulars in the light of more general principles. Thus the king, in whose honor these hymns are sung, may have been David or some one of his descendants upon the throne, in connection with whom the bard felt that the glorious anticipations and hopes that filled his heart might be realized.

An excellent example of this is found in the forty-fifth psalm, probably a marriage hymn sung in honor of one of these kings, in which the joyful occasion is made the vehicle for a series of magnificent and far-reaching pictures. Scholars have differed as to which king was meant. Some have thought of the marriage of Solomon with the princess of Egypt; others of the marriage of Joram with Athaliah. The historical references in the poem are too indefinite to permit a categorical conclusion on these points.

The second psalm is still less susceptible of reference to an exact historical occasion. The situation is that of the Israelitish king ruling over a vast territory, against whom his tributaries are planning to rise in rebellion, but whose authority over them is assured and proclaimed by Jehovah himself. Here again the situation would not be unsuitable to Solomon or to David, but positive assertion is impossible.

Psalm 72 is reasonably assigned to the reign of Solomon. Psalm 24 seems appropriate to David's bringing of the ark to Mt. Zion, and has been thought by some to picture the very occasion of the procession and its entrance into the Holy City. Psalm 16 may be said to describe the faith of the king rising above the trials of sickness and the fear of death. The song of Hannah is fixed in its reference to the royal line by its mention, in the tenth verse, of "his anointed."

Thus each of these psalms rests on a solid background of historical life, and it is only the method of the writer and our ignorance of the time in which he wrote that prevent us from determining the exact details of the historical situation.

(2) It is of course evident to everyone who has paid any attention to the subject that the Davidic authorship of the book of Psalms cannot be sustained. Such a psalm as the second, for example, is made up of four parts, the fourth part, vss. 10-12, summing up the whole, being undoubtedly written not by a king but by some one who admonishes the rebels to make their peace with the king. Verses 7-9 are dramatically put into the mouth of the king, just as vs. 6 is put into the mouth of Jehovah. Psalm 110, whatever may be the application that later prophets have given to it, was evidently written by a prophet concerning a king, for it begins, "Jehovah said unto my lord," *i.e.* "king." It is now quite generally recognized that while David was the "sweet singer of Israel" and wrote psalms, the majority of the poems of the psalter are not from his hand.

(3) It is involved in this point of view that the psalmists have not

in mind the historical Jesus. To them the anointed, the Messiah, of whom they sing is a personage within their own ken and time, from whose achievements and in whose career they expect to be realized the wondrous anticipations which they describe. It is precisely because their anticipations at this definite point and in this limited application were not realized, that we can speak of Messianic elements or "foreshadowings" in connection with them.

The important and central topics with which these psalms deal may be summed up under three heads: (1) Jehovah's relation to the monarchy. (2) The position and prospects of the king. (3) The future of the nation under the monarchy.

1. *Jehovah's relation to the monarchy.*—The righteous character and deeds of Jehovah are recognized as lying at the basis of the kingdom. The song of Hannah (1 Sam. 2:1-10) is one long glorification of Jehovah's justice. He rights wrongs. The poor and the needy are restored to their proper position. The haughty are bowed down; the arrogant are humbled. The wicked are silenced. Jehovah is the Lord of righteousness in all the earth "*to the end that* he may strengthen his king and exalt the power of his anointed." Similar passages are found in Psalm 45:7, where it is the uprightness of the king that has secured for him the favor of Jehovah, and in Psalm 72:1 where the king as the representative of Jehovah is to be clothed with divine justice that he may thus rule uprightly and forever.

Jehovah is at the same time the king's helper in war (Psalm 110:5). His mercy is enduring toward the monarchy (Psalm 18:50). He has established the kingdom by his divine decree so that it shall not be removed (Psalm 2:6-8). He rules over all the earth and thus prepares the way for the universal sway of his anointed (1 Sam. 2:10; Psalm 24:1-2). In the latter psalm he is also represented as coming into the city which is at the same time the political center and capital of the kingdom, to dwell in his holy place.

2. *The position and prospects of the King.*—The king is a victorious warrior whose campaigns are carried on in all the earth and are everywhere successful (Psalms 45:4, 5; 72:9; 110:6, 7; 2:8, 9). As king he is the favorite of Jehovah. The monarchy is of God's own creation, and to this he himself testifies publicly. The occupant is declared to be his Son (Psalm 2:6, 7). He sits at the right hand of Jehovah (Psalm 110:1), and in his warlike expeditions Jehovah moves at his right hand to punish his enemies (110:5). The interpretation of Psalm

45 : 6 is not easy, but in view of the representations which have just been given, it is not unlikely that the intimate and close relation between Jehovah and the king is likewise referred to. The occupant of the throne is even called God himself. Or, if that seems too hyperbolical, his throne is denominated a divine throne, divine in its character or its permanence (*cf.* R. V. margin).

The righteous character of the monarchy is a fundamental trait in it. Reference has already been made to this in the preceding paragraphs. The king sits upon the holy hill of Zion, and he rules in justice and mercy over all his subjects (Psalm 45 : 4, 6, 7 ; 72 : 2, 4) and in this righteousness he appears a merciful deliverer to those who need deliverance, and about him gather the prayers and praises of those whom he has thus blessed (72 : 12-15). Being thus in intimate relation with Jehovah, there is ascribed to him also union with the priestly element of the nation. To this aspect of his position the priestly writers refer with special interest. In 1 Samuel 2 : 35 a later narrator describes the overthrow of the unworthy house of Eli, and the substitution in its place of a faithful priesthood who "shall walk before my anointed forever." The "anointed" is evidently the royal line. The prospect before the mind of the writer is, therefore, the existence of a priesthood which shall be in intimate relation to the king. But the king himself is to possess a priestly character (Psalm 110). His army consists of a body of warriors clad in holy garments. He himself is a priest after the order of Melchizedek. The reference to Melchizedek of course connects itself with the fourteenth chapter of Genesis where he is represented as both king and priest. The Israelitish king is to continue in the same line of succession in the same royal city. He is to unite the offices of king and priest, blessing in the name of Jehovah and receiving tithes. The war in which he engages with his followers is a holy war. He sits upon the "holy hill of Zion" (Psalm 2 : 6). Striking terms are used to indicate the duration of the monarchy. It is to be forever (110 : 4) ; as long as the sun (72 : 17). The royal line is to endure unto all generations, forever and ever (45 : 16, 17).

3. *The future of the nation under the monarchy.*—Its material development is to be unparalleled. The ground is to yield abundantly, even to the tops of the mountains. The population is to be like the grass of the earth (Psalm 72 : 16). The people are utterly devoted to their king. The flower of the youth offer themselves to his service (Psalm 110 : 3). The nation under the leadership of its king shall extend its

sway over all the earth, and from the ends of the world tribute shall be received (Psalm 72:8-11). The king's armies shall go to and fro in the earth, beating down wickedness (Psalm 110:6). In the second psalm the universal sway is represented as already an accomplished fact. When a rebellion against this authority is threatened, with all the greater force the poet emphasizes the fact that such a rebellion is worse than useless since the king upon Zion has been divinely determined as universal monarch. Let all peoples, therefore, hasten to make their peace with him (Psalm 2:7-12). And as thus dominating over the affairs of the world the monarchy will bring in the reign of peace till the moon be no more (Psalm 72:7). This authority will be gained also through friendly union with the surrounding peoples. In the marriage of the king with a foreign princess the poet beheld the promise of this unlimited sway (Psalm 45:9-17).

III. *Larger ideals.*—Two psalms assigned to this period have no direct connection with the ideas that appear in the royal psalms. They seem to be concerned with more general conceptions. Psalm 8 reminds us of the magnificent outlook of the first chapter of Genesis. The wonderful contrasts in man are dwelt upon, his insignificance and his magnificence, his greatness and his littleness. It is in the picture of his wondrous exaltation that the poet finds inspiration for his lofty flight. Created by Jehovah, to all else than God he is superior. To God alone he yields, and to him he is but a little inferior. All the majesty and glory and greatness of one who is but just a step below the mighty one gather about him. Such is man in his ideal state as the creation of Jehovah.

From what threatens to be his deathbed another singer—it may be David himself—utters words of supreme faith and calm assurance. He has been faithful to Jehovah in life and has chosen those who were like minded. Prosperity has attended him, and therefore the future is bright. The realm of the dead is not to be his dwelling place. He by whom Jehovah stands is to be restored to life. The expressions are so general and indefinite that it is difficult to say whether the psalmist declares that though he enter the gates of death he shall not abide there, but shall pass triumphantly through the realm of Sheol unto Jehovah, or merely that the disease shall not prove fatal. He is, however, assured that to have God at one's right hand is to abide at his right hand forever hereafter. Here is the kernel of the psalm—the permanence of Jehovah's servant.

In summing up the study of this period, consideration should be given to the following suggestions:

(a) It cannot be too steadily kept in mind that there is no evidence in this material that the references are to any other than *historical persons*, and, for the most part, to particular kings, though we are unable to determine precisely the exact reference in each case. The message that the prophet brings is intended for his own time primarily. The hopes gather about the persons of these kings. We may realize from this point of view what elements of blessing were felt by the nation to center in the monarchy, especially with what ardent affection the people regarded David, that these wide-reaching hopes settled themselves upon members of the Davidic house. The condition of anarchy and hopelessness out of which the monarchy lifted the people and the height of security and prosperity to which the nation attained under it are therein amply illustrated. No wonder, then, that to this house exaltation and permanence were attached.

(b) But this lofty anticipation in joining itself to successive members of the Davidic line was constantly failing of realization. Solomon did not become the Messiah expected, and king after king passed away with the future still concealing the expected blessing. Yet ever the disappointed hope renews its youth and clothes a new figure in the brightness which has faded from the present. The monarchy itself as an institution realized in the Davidic house was felt to be a *permanent institution of blessing*. No doubt is felt that the light is to break from that source. The qualities of true kingship are to realize themselves in it. No nation of antiquity possessed so high an ideal of kingship, so wonderful a conception of the essential duties and characteristics of monarchy as did Israel. The student should ponder carefully this conception, in its various elements, its demand for justice, mercy, righteousness and peace.

(c) When we ask ourselves the *source of this appreciation* of monarchy in Israel we uncover again the essential foundation of Israel's life exhibited here in a somewhat more definite form. The living, active, energizing Jehovah is the life, the center and the soul of these ideals of monarchy. As in the preceding period the prophets saw him as the founder and leader of the nation, its lawgiver and judge, so now they behold in him the ideal king from whom all kingship derives, who gives authority to Israel's royal line. In this period the conception of Jehovah as king attains fulness and color. The monarchy, regarded as established by him, reflects back upon him something of its definite-

ness and beneficence. His sovereignty is emphasized. The quality of righteousness, revealed to Moses as essential and central in his character, now clothes his kingship and from him, as king, passes to his earthly representative and son, the king in Israel. Hence the glorious picture of monarchy in Israel; hence the undying hope of its beneficent sway over all the nations of the earth throughout all time.

(d) It is now possible from this point of view to discern *the fore-shadowings of this period*. Its eternal background is the prophetic faith in Jehovah as the lord of all, the eternal, righteous ruler. Its center is the Davidic monarchy, the single figures of which, clothed in all the idealization of the prophet's inspired expectation and the singer's insight appear and pass away, leaving the realization still unrealized, the ideal abiding. David and Solomon and all their line were gone, but the image and expectation of what they might have been, of what the monarchy could attain, outlived them and became the heritage of the future.

Work and Workers.

FOR some time there have been questions as to what to do with the Reformed Church *Quarterly Review*. At last the Board of Editors, headed by Dr. T. G. Apple, has resigned, and at one time it was thought inevitable that the *Review* would be discontinued. It has, however, been decided by the church to reestablish it, and Dr. William Rupp, professor in the seminary at Lancaster, Pa., has accepted the editorship.

THE Chicago Society of Biblical Research held its first meeting of the season, being the thirteenth regular session, on Saturday November 21st, at the Sherman House in Chicago. The following four papers were read and discussed: The New Israel-Tablet, by Dr. J. H. Breasted, of The University of Chicago; Hebrew Proper Names containing the Divine Element, found on Babylonian Tablets, by Professor Albert T. Clay, Ph.D.; Jewish Communistic Ideals, by Dr. Thomas C. Hall; Note on Matt. 28:19, by Professor H. M. Scott, D.D., of the Chicago Theological Seminary.

THE *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund for October contains the tenth report, by Dr. F. J. Bliss, of his excavations in Jerusalem. He here describes his discovery of a very remarkable stone stairway, which forms part of a road leading down to the city from the Pool of Siloam. The steps, thirty-four in number, are made of well-jointed stones, and are polished by much footwear. It is impossible not to connect this discovery with the statement in Nehemiah (3:15) that Shallum repaired the gate of the fountain, the wall of the Pool of Siloam, by the King's Garden, "and unto the stairs that go down from the City of David."

A DETAILED account has been published by Dr. Giovanni Mercati of his recent discovery of a portion of the Hexapla of Origen. The palimpsest fragments contain the following psalms (the numbering being that of the Septuagint): 17:26-48; 27:6-9; 28:1-3; 29 entire; 30:1-10, 20-25; 31:6-11; 34:1, 2, 13-28; 36:1-5; 45 entire; 48:1-6, 11-15; 88:26-53. The MS. is in minuscules of the tenth century, and the text stands in the original arrangement, only the Hebrew column being missing. In the five parallel columns we have first the Hebrew transliterated into the Greek, then the four Greek versions in the order Aquila, Symmachus, Septuagint, and Theodotion. The material will be edited and soon published by its discoverer. From the Hebrew text in Greek letters we are able to get a good idea of the pronuncia-

tion of Hebrew as Origen was accustomed to hear it in the third century; and the possession of some continuous passages in the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion is a matter of considerable importance.

PROFESSOR GEORGE M. POST, M.D., of the Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, Syria, has been engaged for over a dozen years in the preparation of a *Flora of Syria, Palestine, and Sinai*. The work is now ready for issue. It consists of 920 pages, with a description of all the Phænogamous plants, and the Acrogens, of the district extending from the Taurus to Ras Muhammad, and from the Mediterranean to the borders of the Syrian and Arabian Desert. It embraces 126 orders, 850 genera and 3416 species, many of the latter, as well as numerous varieties, being new to science. It is illustrated by 445 woodcuts, and colored map, showing the botanical regions of the district covered. It contains a general analytical key to all the orders, and special keys to the larger tribes and genera. Much labor has been expended on these keys, and it is hoped that, by their means, the usefulness of the book will be greatly increased, especially for students and travelers. Those scriptural plants which can be identified with any degree of certainty are noted in the text. The Arabic names, even the most trivial, have been carefully collected. Only a small edition is printed, and the book can only be obtained on the price of one guinea sent to Professor Post.

In a recently published discussion of The Scope of the Seminary Curriculum Professor B. B. Warfield, of Princeton Theological Seminary, gives a table exhibiting the time devoted to the several branches of theological study in seven of the leading seminaries of this country and one in Edinburgh. This is so interesting as to be worthy of reproduction here:

	Edin- burgh	Prince- ton	Auburn	Western	Mc- Cormick	S. Fran- cisco	Yale ¹	Andover ¹
Hebrew philology, -	...	150	120	120	120	180	...	...
Propædeutics, -	...	...	15	...	...	...	30	...
Apologetics, -	240	180	...	...	180	180	...	...
Exegetics, -	(480)	(510)	(315)	(510)	(600)	(450)	(645) ²	(751) ²
{ Old Test., -	240	210	60	240	240	150	345 ²	411 ²
{ New Test., -	240	180	240	270	240	300	300	340
{ Bib. Theol., -	...	120	...	...	120	...	...	...
Historics, -	240	180	210	180	180	120	180	136
Systematics, -	240	180	225	180	210	180	270 ³	210 ³
Ecclesiastics, -	280	210	300	210	270	180	270	386
Practice, -	...	180	...	...	...	180	...	...
Totals, -	1480	1590	1185	1200	1560	1290	1395	1475

In reference to this, Professor Warfield says: "Such a general practical agreement as is here exhibited will go far toward proving that we are on the right track. I think the general principle that ought to govern us is that the

¹ Catalogue of 1892-3. ² Including Hebrew philology. ³ Including apologetics.

seven departments of Apologetics, Old Testament Literature and Exegesis, New Testament Literature and Exegesis, Historics, Systematics, Ecclesiastics, and Actual Practice make about equal claim upon our time and effort. If we can manage to add a chair of biblical theology, its own importance and its organic relation to exegesis on one side and to systematics on the other will justify a generous assignment of time to it. Hebrew philology must be accepted meanwhile as a necessary evil and full provision made for it. And I think some brief time ought to be given to general theological encyclopedia or propædæutics—a subject for which at present few seminaries seem to make formal provision, though of course in one way or another it receives attention in all."

It is a good indication of the new interest in biblical study that colleges are giving their students opportunity for systematic work in the Old and New Testaments. In this respect Brown University is among the leaders. In the elementary courses in Hebrew, Arabic, and Assyrian, effort is made to give the student a thorough knowledge of the grammatical principles of these languages and to enable him to translate easy prose with facility. The course in historical Hebrew is especially intended for those who have mastered the elements of the language. The aim in it is to give added facility in translation and familiarity with the laws of Hebrew syntax and textual criticism. The minor prophets, Amos, Hosea, and Micah, are studied from an exegetical and historical point of view. In connection with them the fundamental principles of prophecy are also considered.

The work in New Testament Greek is so arranged that students who desire may pursue consecutive courses throughout the year. The gospel of Mark is made the basis for the study of the grammatical and literary peculiarities of the language. Especial attention is given to technical words and terms. In the study of the gospel of Luke the historical questions involved are carefully considered. The Corinthian Epistles are read for the purpose of gaining acquaintance with the terms, expressions, and ideas which have become the framework of Christian thought. Systematic instruction in the literature and history of the Bible is given on the basis of the English version. The intimate relation between the literature and the history of the Bible is borne in mind. In presenting Hebrew history the aim is not only to follow systematically the unfolding of Hebrew life along political, social, and religious lines, but also to introduce the student to the literature of the Old Testament in its proper setting. The sources for each period are collected and analyzed. While the study is critical, it is also emphatically constructive.

The life of Jesus is similarly studied to gain a definite and true conception of its chief events and their significance in the light of their historic background.

The course on the wisdom literature, considering the character,

methods, and work of the wise men of ancient Israel, gives opportunity for discussing Hebrew ethical and philosophic thought in general.

All the courses in this department are open to graduate students. Additional courses are arranged for any having the necessary preparation who desire to do advanced work.

HEBREW.

1, 2. *Hebrew Accidence*. Harper's Manual and Elements. Three hours. First and second terms. Elective for juniors, seniors, and graduates.

3. *Hebrew Accidence continued*. Reading, in the original, of passages selected from the Books of Samuel, with study of Hebrew syntax and textual criticism. Driver's Notes. Three hours. Third term. Elective for juniors and seniors.

4. *Minor Prophets of the Assyrian Period*. Critical translation and interpretation in the light of the history of the times. Three hours. Second term. Elective for juniors, seniors, and graduates.

5. *Hebrew History*. From the settlement in Canaan to the disruption. Based on the revised version, statements from the monuments, and information furnished by modern Palestine and its life. Recitations, informal lectures, and supplementary reading. Three hours. First term. Elective for juniors, seniors, and graduates.

6. *Hebrew History continued*. From the disruption to the exile. Especial attention to the character and work of the prophets. Three hours. Second term. Elective for juniors, seniors, and graduates.

7. *Wisdom Literature of the Old Testament*. Proverbs, Job, Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes. Analysis of contents, date, and authorship. Three hours. Third term. Elective for juniors, seniors, and graduates.

Courses 5 to 7, inclusive, require no knowledge of Hebrew, and any one may be taken independently of the other two.

ARABIC.

1, 2, 3. *Grammar and Reading*. Lansing's Manual. Selected Suras from the Koran. One hour. Through the year. Elective for juniors, seniors, and graduates.

ASSYRIAN.

1, 2, 3. *The Elements*. Lyon's Manual. One hour. Through the year. Elective for juniors, seniors, and graduates.

4, 5. *Historical Inscriptions of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon*. One hour. First and second terms. Elective for juniors, seniors, and graduates.

NEW TESTAMENT LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

1. *The Gospel of Mark*. Critical translation. Study of linguistic peculiarities and text criticism. Three hours. First term. Elective for juniors, seniors, and graduates.

2. *The Gospel of Luke*. Rapid reading. Study of the contents in the light of the history. Three hours. Second term. Elective for juniors, seniors, and graduates.

3. *Paul's Corinthian Epistles*. Rapid reading. Analysis of thought. Study of the Pauline teaching. Three hours. Third term. Elective for juniors, seniors, and graduates.

4. *The Life of Jesus*. In English. Stevens and Burton's Harmony. Systematic study of the events in their geographical and historical relations. Three hours. Third term. Elective for juniors, seniors, and graduates.

DR. EDMUND BUCKLEY, of The University of Chicago, is undertaking the direction of a movement which promises to be of great interest and benefit to many persons who have hitherto been unable to enjoy the advantage of careful instruction in the field of the study of religion. Under the auspices of the University Association, an incorporated body organized for the purpose of carrying on the work of the World's Congresses of the Columbian Exposition, he is announced as editor of a course of lessons in Comparative Religion. It will be prepared strictly within the law prescribed for the government of the Parliament of Religions. Each religion will be represented in the following way: (1) An account by a competent and eminent representative of the faith, a native writer when possible. (2) A brief statement by a competent person of the biography and environment of this native writer. (3) A scientific account of the religion, giving the religion consideration from the point of view of objective science, which seeks to understand and estimate each religion in the light of all. The course will include a general introduction, and the following leading topics: Religion of savage and semi-civilized races; Religion of the Mongolians; Religion of the Indo-Kelts; Religions of the Semites; Christianity; The Science and Philosophy of Religion. Full and careful quotations will be made from the respective scriptures of the various religions. Summaries and selections of special value will be made from the various books of the Old and New Testament. Special articles will be given on different methods of interpretation, doctrines of inspiration, religious archaeology and chronology, the higher criticism, sacred symbolism, the harmonies of science and religion, ethics and religion. While Dr. Buckley is editor-in-chief, the various topics will be assigned to specialists. The material will be published in the organ of the University Association called *Progress*. The expense for the course, which consists of twelve monthly numbers of the journal, is \$3.75. We shall follow the undertaking with much interest.

The Council of Seventy.

PROFESSOR SHAILER MATHEWS, of The University of Chicago, sails for Europe in December. He will spend some time in Italy making a special study of Christian Archæology. He will then make a tour of Palestine for the purpose of collecting material for use in his lectures.

Professor R. R. Lloyd, of Pacific Theological Seminary, is engaged upon a book upon the Inspiration of the Scriptures. He will publish soon a book upon the Relations of the Great Biblical Doctrines to one another.

Dr. C. W. Votaw will prepare the usual American Institute lessons to be published in the *Sunday School Times* during 1897. The material will be from the Acts. Dr. Votaw will also prepare a series of studies on the same material to be published in the *BIBLICAL WORLD* during the same period.

Dr. J. H. Breasted, curator of the Haskell Oriental Museum, has this month been engaged in placing a large number of interesting archæological remains sent to the museum from the scene of the excavations in Egypt, which are under the direction of Mr. Petrie. These come from the site of Thebes, the place where the tablet containing a mention of the name Israel was recently found. Dr. Breasted recently gave a lecture on a period of Egyptian History at the Field Columbian Museum.

President C. J. Little, of Garrett Biblical Institute, delivered the opening address before the annual convention of the Inter-Seminary Missionary Alliance held at The University of Chicago November 12 to 15. His subject was "The Spirit of Christianity Essentially Missionary."

Dr. H. L. Willett is giving a series of lectures before the Women's Club of Milwaukee. The Literature Section of this club has taken up the study of the Institute course on the Work of the Old Testament Sages and Mr. Willett's work consists of lectures introductory to and summarizing the material studied in the club.

Professor F. K. Sanders conducted a biblical institute at New Bedford, Mass., on November 19 and 20. The subject was "The Inspired Teachers of Israel." Professor Sanders also delivered a lecture on the "History of the English Bible" at Miss Master's School, Dobbs Ferry, N. Y., October 29.

The November number of *Progress* contains an article by Professor Sanders on "Hebrew Literature."

Dr. J. H. Barrows is to reach Bombay by December 15. His first series of lectures will be in Calcutta Christmas week at the time of the Indian National Congress. From there he will go to Lahore, thence to Bombay, to Vellore, Salem, Bangalore and Madras. A most cordial welcome seems from all indications to await him.

Professor F. B. Denio, of Bangor Theological Seminary, is preparing in connection with his regular class lectures a valuable syllabus on "The Historical Criticism of the Old Testament." In this syllabus he sketches on the one hand the Grafian theory as expounded by Kuenen, Wellhausen and Smend, and on the other hand the conservative critical theory as presented by Kittel and Dillman, with a recognition of the work of Koenig and Robertson. Various problems concerning the Old Testament are also taken up.

The first annual meeting of the Council of Seventy will be held in Chicago on December 11 and 12, 1896.

The following programme will be carried out :

Friday, December 11.

3:00-3:30.—Annual Report of the President.

3:30-5:00.—Annual Report of the Treasurer and Discussion of Reports.

5:00-6:00.—Discussion: Bible Study in the College.

6:00-8:00.—Dinner.

8:00.—Brief Addresses, on The Teaching of the Bible, A New Calling.

Saturday, December 12.

10:30 A.M.—*Old Testament Chamber*. 1. Opening Address by the Master.

2. Consideration of Special Topics.

(a) List of Old Testament books to cost (?) for college and private libraries.

(b) Difficulties of the teacher of the Old Testament.

(c) The best order of Old Testament Study.

(d) Question of requiring Hebrew for entrance to theological seminaries.

New Testament Chamber. 1. Opening address by the Master.

2. Consideration of Special Topics.

(a) List of New Testament books.

(b) Difficulties of the teacher of the New Testament.

(c) The best order of New Testament study.

General Chamber. 1. Opening address by the Master.

2. Consideration of Special Topics.

(a) The place of Biblical Theology in the Curriculum.

(b) The teaching of Comparative Religion to the masses.

12:30.—Election of officers by each chamber.

1:00.—Election of officers by the Council.

1:30.—Luncheon.

To the discussion on Friday afternoon will be invited all Bible teachers in colleges and other institutions in the vicinity. The evening meeting will be an open one.

Every effort will be made to make this first annual meeting productive of good not only to those who attend but through the results of the discussions to all the world of Bible students.

A biblical institute under the auspices of the Institute was held at Wellesley College November 12, 14 and 15. It was conducted by Rev. Alexander McKenzie of Cambridge, Professor F. K. Sanders of Yale and Professor C. F. Kent of Brown University. The general subject was "Messianic Ideals of the Hebrew Prophets." Five sessions were held and the following lectures were delivered: The Gospel in the Old Testament, Dr. McKenzie; The Ideals of Amos and Hosea and the Ideals of Isaiah and Micah, Professor Sanders; The Ideals of Jeremiah and the Prophet of the Exile, and the Temporal and Permanent Elements in Messianic Prophecy, Professor Kent. The last lecture closed with a Question Box. The attendance at every session was large and much enthusiasm was manifested.

The Institute plans a large scheme of work for 1897 in connection with the Sunday-school lessons which take up Acts for the year. The scheme includes:

1. A correspondence course in the Acts in the original Greek. This course will be critical, exegetical, and will require as a prerequisite the ability to read classical or New Testament Greek.

2. A correspondence course in the English covering in a critical and exhaustive manner the Acts, Epistles and Revelation.

3. A correspondence course for Sunday-school teachers who wish to do thorough work. In this course an effort will be made to acquaint the teacher with the facts in the history of the early church concerning (*a*) the organization of the church, (*b*) the environment of the church, (*c*) the development of the church, (*d*) the belief and teaching of the church, (*e*) the practice of the church, (*f*) God's providence sustaining and directing the church, (*g*) the records which have been preserved of the history of the church in this period. It will be based upon the studies to be published in the *BIBLICAL WORLD*.

4. A course of reading for Sunday-school teachers covering the biblical material, the historical background, and some homiletic treatment. The required books are as follows: (1) *In the Time of Jesus* (Seidel), (2) *The*

Beginnings of Christianity (Fisher), (3) *The Records and Letters of the Apostolic Age* (Burton), (4) *The American Institute Essays in Biblical Literature, New Testament Series*, Nos. 1-16.

A monthly postal bulletin assigning the reading for each month and giving valuable suggestions and questions concerning it will be sent to each student. This plan would solve the question of an interesting teacher's meeting in many cases. Where each teacher does not care to purchase all the books, a combination may be made.

(5) An outline course of study covering the Acts, Epistles and Revelation in their historical connection, suitable for adult Bible classes. In this course the work for each day is definitely planned and assigned, and the work of Sunday may be a summary and review, or the class may be a week-day club holding weekly or fortnightly meetings for which special programmes will be suggested.

6. An examination in four grades for all Sunday-school pupils and teachers: (1) The elementary for all under fifteen years of age, (2) the intermediate for all between the ages of fifteen and twenty, (3) the progressive for all adult Bible classes, and (4) the advanced for ministers and all who have made a critical study of the subject. The fee for examination will be fifty cents, and all students gaining an average of 70 per cent. will receive a certificate. There will be ten or twelve questions. Specimen questions and an examination direction sheet will be sent each candidate upon enrollment. All schools enrolling fifty candidates will be supplied with the series of reference books for their libraries which is named under "4."

Twenty-four hundred students are now at work upon the Institute course of study on the "Work of the Old Testament Sages."

Notes and Opinions.

That Apollos knew an Early Written Gospel.—Writing in defense of this proposition, Professor Blass, of Halle, author of the recent great commentary on Acts, says in the *Expository Times* for September: "In my Commentary I have expressed myself with some caution: videlicet *non sine scripto aliquo evangelio*. And this I hold for certain. If Apollos had been instructed by some disciple of the apostles, without a gospel, the result must have been that Apollos was fully acquainted with the teaching of the apostles, and especially with their rite of baptism; nay, he would have been baptized himself after that rite. On the other hand, he would have got a very imperfect knowledge of Christ's life and teaching. Now, we see that quite the contrary was the case: he was very accurately instructed with regard to "the things concerning Jesus," whilst he knew nothing at all of the apostles' baptizing. From this I infer that the chief means of his conversion had been a book, and not the ignorant person by whom that book had been brought to him. And so we must assume that about the year 50 A. D. (roughly speaking) there already existed a written gospel. I am fully aware that this is contrary to the opinion generally adopted in my country; but that opinion, formed by men living at such an enormous distance from the events, has no weight at all. The want which claimed and produced written gospels arose immediately after the departure of the apostles from Jerusalem (which took place before 54 A. D., Acts 21). Up to that time St. Peter and his colleagues had regularly taught the people out of their living recollection; but afterwards it became necessary to 'reconstruct' from memory (Luke 1:1) a narrative of Christ which might be rehearsed in the weekly assemblies, just as was done in the time of Justin the Martyr. I suppose, then, that soon after the council (Acts 15, A. D. 45 or 46) St. Peter left Jerusalem and went to Antioch first (Gal. 6:11), and by that way, *perhaps*, to Babylon; you will see that there is space of time enough for the gospels being written, copied, brought to Alexandria, and so on, before the year 50. And *if* that gospel was that of St. Mark, mutilated as we have it now (16:8), Apollos could not learn from it any other form of Christianity than that which he actually had. Moreover, the ancient tradition will in some sense be true, that St. Mark was the first bishop of Alexandria."

The Incarnation, according to Phil. 2:5-11.—Two articles upon the interpretation of this crucial passage, by Dr. E. H. Gifford, appear in the *Expositor* for September and October. The conclusion of his discussion regarding the

meaning of this passage he gives in these words ; “ 1) We have seen that the word *ὑπάρχων*, *subsisting*, as used by St. Paul, denotes both the preëxistence and the continued existence of Christ *in the form of God*. 2) In illustration and confirmation of Bishop Lightfoot’s interpretation of the word *μορφή* as ‘essential form,’ it has been shown that this sense was well known to contemporaries of St. Paul, that it was adopted generally by the early Greek Fathers, and advisedly restored to our English Bible by the translators of the Authorized Version in A.D. 1611. 3) We have examined the opposite theory of those who contend that the *form* is separable from the *nature* and *essence*, that they can exist without it, and that in the Incarnation the Son of God did in fact empty himself of the *form*, while retaining the essential nature of deity. This error has been traced to its source in the false definitions of Zanchi ; and it has been shown that the Son could not possibly empty himself of the *form* of God without thereby ceasing to be God in any true sense. 4) Next we have seen that *ἕσα θεῶ* denotes the manifold circumstances of glory and majesty, or the particular modes of manifestation, which were an adequate expression of the divine nature of the Son, but not inseparable from it. 5) It has been seen that the meaning of the clause *οὐχ ἀπαγγέλλον ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἕσα θεῶ*, and its direct antithesis to *ἀλλ’ ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε*, clearly prove that what the Son of God laid aside at the Incarnation was that equality of condition, such as glory, majesty, and honor, which he possessed in his preëxistent state, and to which he prayed to be restored, in John 17 : 5, ‘And now, O Father, glorify thou me with thine own self, with the glory which I had with thee before the world was.’ 6) We have seen how the apostle sets forth on the other hand the fulness of Christ’s humanity in a climax advancing from its most general to its most special features,—from that *form of a servant* which includes all God’s creatures as *ministers of his who do his pleasure*, to that *likeness of men* which unites him with us in our true nature as made *in the image of God*,—and finally to that outward guise and fashion, in which he was seen as a *man of sorrows and acquainted with grief*, humbling himself yet further in obedience to his Father’s will unto death, even the death of the cross. St. Paul has thus shown us in brief outline the essential features of the Incarnation, the perfect Godhead and perfect Manhood united in one divine person, and ‘never to be divided,’ seeing that the human nature, denoted in the name Jesus, is now highly exalted in inseparable union with the divine. But as to the manner in which those two natures are united in one person,—as to the degree in which the deity was limited or the humanity exalted by their union, *during Christ’s life on earth*,—the apostle has said nothing whatever in this passage.”

Leprosy.—The view which medical science has come to take of leprosy, after many years of the most careful experiment and experience, is much milder than that which prevailed in ancient times. It is not now the dread and fatal disease that it then was. Many severe cases have been cured, and it is by no

means so contagious as was previously supposed. Still further relief for its sufferers is now announced in that two eminent physicians, Kitasato of Japan and Dr. Bouffe of Paris, claim that they have discovered independently the bacillus that causes leprosy and a toxin that will destroy it. The distinguished dermatologist, Dr. George H. Fox, in his last report to the New York Health Department, made the following statement regarding leprosy:

"I can say positively, that during all this time there never has been a single case of infection from one of these patients. The popular impression about leprosy and its contagious features is very erroneous. Leprosy is no more dangerous than consumption. Persons in a street car are very much more likely to contract tuberculosis from the expectoration of a consumptive than to get leprosy from the presence of a leper. Leprosy is, of course, contagious, and probably it can be contracted in accidental ways, as other diseases of the blood are; but the terror of a leper is something that is not founded in fact. Ten years ago a man in a very advanced stage of leprosy was treated here at one of the hospitals, and he recovered, proving that leprosy can be cured. There are other cases just as conclusive; but that man was carefully treated in the hospital, and he received all the comforts of life, whereas, if he had been locked up in a lazaretto, and his food handed to him through a hole, probably he would have died. The great difficulty in curing leprosy is that as soon as a person learns that he has it he is made to believe that all hope is gone. He is treated as a doomed man, and made to believe that he is an object to be shunned by everybody. Naturally enough it is difficult for a person to recover under such circumstances."

Apropos of these statements the following note in *Light and Leading* by the Rev. T. Witton Davies, Principal of the Midland Baptist College, Nottingham, England, may be of interest :

The common belief is that what in the Bible is called leprosy is that which we now understand by that name. So indeed nearly all the commentaries and Bible dictionaries. It is to me surprising that a book so otherwise admirable and up to date as Benzinger's *Hebräische Archäologie* should advocate this view (see page 481). Nevertheless, the identification is certainly wrong.

Modern leprosy is, according to the Norwegian doctors Daneelseen and Boeck, of two kinds—the tubercular and the anæsthetic. Dr. Erasmus Wilson adds a third, what he calls the mutilating species. Now let anyone compare the accounts of those species of leprosy with that so-called in our Bible, and he will have no hesitation in saying that the diseases are quite distinct. Bible leprosy is a comparatively slight complaint. We never read of its proving fatal, nor of its causing the falling off of limbs. Modern leprosy is known to be hereditary, and if it were from this the Jews so much suffered in Palestine, we should expect them to suffer from it now, since they keep so entirely apart from other nationalities. Yet neither in the East

nor in the West are they in any way affected by it, except indeed a very few cases in the East. More important is the fact that the Greek word *lepra*, which is used in the Septuagint and in the New Testament, has, among the Greek medical writers, from the earliest of them Hippocrates (fl. B. C. 450) until medical science passed away from the Greeks, a very definite meaning: that meaning is what medical men now call psoriasis, a word which includes many sorts of skin diseases, none of them particularly serious.

When the translators of the Old Testament into Greek, the writers of the New Testament — Luke the physician especially — and Josephus, make use of this word, they could not have meant anything else than that which always, and alone, it meant in Greek medical works.

The proper Greek word for what we now know as leprosy is elephantiasis, though even this name has, by a misunderstanding of the physicians, come to mean the so-called "Barbados leg."

In Arabic, as well as in Greek, there are two distinct words for Bible leprosy (*baratz*) and modern leprosy (*judham* — literally, maimed). It is a pity our revisers did not use some word in the margin or in the text of our Bible to indicate what the words rendered leprosy really stand for.

I may be allowed to refer to a somewhat lengthy article by myself on this subject in the *Old and New Testament Student*, September 1890. I am delighted to have my views confirmed by Professor Münch in his able work, *Die Zaraath (Lepra) der hebräischen Bibel* (Leipzig, 1893).

Synopses of Important Articles.

LUTHER'S STELLUNG ZUR HEILIGEN SCHRIFT, IHREN WERT UND IHRER AUTORITÄT, von PASTOR K. THIMME, in *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, No. 8, pp. 644-675.

It is the purpose of this discussion to exhibit and explain the twofold or double attitude of Luther toward the sacred Scriptures, according to which he, on the one hand, implicitly and totally submitted to their authority, and, on the other, showed such a remarkable degree of freedom in regard to the character of some of the Bible books. The sum and substance of this twofold attitude can be given in the two statements that for Luther the sacred Scriptures "are the Word of God," and that "they contain the Word of God in human form." In our days these statements have not infrequently become the shibboleths of two antagonistic theological parties. In Luther they are united in a higher unity without any difficulty, a proof of the thoroughly evangelical method of the reformer's thoughts, equally free from a fanaticism that claims to need no written word, and from a narrow-minded literalism. These twofold views in Luther have but one and the same root, the same out of which his whole faith and Christianity grew, namely, his personal experience of the free grace of God in Christ.

It is known that Luther ascribed this personal experience of the grace of God in Christ not to the current church teachings of his day nor to the church practices, but solely to his close study of the Scriptures. In his *Tischreden*, 57, 99, he says: "My trials and troubles drove me into the Scriptures, and them I have diligently studied until I learned to understand them." The Scriptures became for him the word of life. They are most intimately connected with the origin and development of his faith. Cf. *Opera*, I, 22. In all of his many statements concerning the Scriptures in which he emphasizes their authority and their comfort, it can be seen that this conviction has been attained not by an intellectual process, but is the outcome of his heart's experience with the Scriptures. In his heart of hearts he felt nothing to be firmer than that "the Scriptures are the Word of God," and he never felt the need of qualifying or restricting this statement. Looked at from whatever side, the sum of his faith and hope was this truth of Christian experience, that the Scriptures are the divine revelation as norm of Christian faith and practice. In Luther these two ideas of Scriptures and experience constantly go hand in hand, and hundreds of citations from his works could be given showing this and also demonstrating that these Scriptures are for him the absolutely firm and reliable foundation. Nothing can shake his confidence in the Word.

Yet side by side with such unbounded trust in the Scriptures we have from Luther very decided judgments of disapproval in regard to certain books or passages in the Bible. He makes a decided distinction between the Old and New Testaments. The former is indeed also the Word of God and is to be highly esteemed, yet not intrinsically to be compared with the latter. Many portions of the Old Testament he regarded as no longer binding on the Christians. In his *Introduction to the Old Testament* he divides its contents into three kinds. He declares it a *liber legis*; then draws attention to its "*exempla et historiae*," and thirdly to the Messianic promises. Chiefly the latter give the Old Testament whatever permanent value it has. Some of his statements on the Old Testament are very decided. In his work *Wider die himmlischen Propheten* he says: "Moses was given to the Jewish people and we Gentiles and Christians have nothing to do with him."

Most remarkable are his opinions on certain books of the Bible. He has a keen appreciation for the human factor in these writings. The prediction of the future, which fills so much space in the prophetic writings, Luther was accustomed to regard as of comparatively little value. He says: "These neither teach nor improve the Christian doctrine. Therefore this prophetic power is probably one of the least gifts of God, which sometimes also comes from the devil." He understood the literary processes that led to the composition of the prophets. He remarks: "The later prophets studied the books of the earlier prophets, and appropriated their good thoughts." Concerning Moses he says: "It is at least a possibility that he received the ten commandments from the fathers." He regards it as certain that most of the ordinances contained in the Pentateuch have been received from the fathers, considers it possible that Moses took some of them from neighboring nations. The chief reason why Luther held the Psalms in so high an estimation was because he regarded them as the expression of the deepest personal feelings of their human authors. In his *Introduction to the Writings of Solomon* he lays the chief stress on the pious human thought here exhibited by the believer in Jehovah. In his famous work *De Servo Arbitrio* he says that "it deserves more than all others of being excluded from the canon." In his *Table Talk* he declares: "I am so hostile to the second book of Maccabees and to Esther that I wish they did not exist, for they Judaize too much and are full of heathen rubbish (*Unart*)." On the other hand, of the apocryphal book of Moses he says: "The contents of this book are almost as good as we find in the other sacred books of the Scriptures." In another place he says: "This book ought to have been received among the number of canonical writings." It is apparent that the distinction made by Luther as early as the Leipzig disputation between canonical and apocryphal had more a theoretical than a practical character.

Almost more pronounced are Luther's sharp judgments on certain books of the New Testament. Here, too, he felt himself bound rather by the spirit than by the letter. Not even the authority of the primitive church is for

Luther an absolutely decisive factor in the make-up of his views on the canonical position or worth of a book. He is moved chiefly by the contents of these books, especially by the fact whether or not they "urge Christ" (*Christum treiben*), a frequently recurring word and rule in Luther's writings. In the case of three of the *Antilegomena*, namely 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, he does not pay any attention to the fact that they lack the authoritative approval of the ancient church. Concerning Hebrews, James, Jude, and Revelation, he expressly states that the ancient church did not regard them as of equal value with the others. Luther's attitude toward these four was entirely determined by inner reasons. He finds "hard nuts" in Hebrews, because in his opinion chapters 6-10 directly deny repentance. His hard judgments on St. James are well known. In his Leipzig thesis he says: "The spirit (*stilius*) of this letter is by far beneath the apostolic majesty of St. Paul and is not at all to be compared with him." In his Introduction to the New Testament in 1822—but not reprinted in later edition—he says: "Compared with the other chief books, the epistle of St. James is a real straw epistle, for it has not in it the right evangelical ring (*Art*)." Again, he here says: "This epistle contradicts directly (*gibt stracks wider*) Paul's and all other writings in teaching a righteousness by works. It pretends for the rest to be teaching Christ, but does not even make mention of his suffering, death, and resurrection." Again: "For such reasons, one can feel that it is not a real apostolic letter," and again, "It has not been written by an apostle, nor has it the apostolic ring and spirit in accordance with the pure doctrine." In his *Opera Exegetica*, v, 227, he even says: "Male concludit, *delirat* Jacobus." In his *Table Talk* he is willing to give anybody his doctor's hat who can reconcile James with Paul. These are all of the statements found in Luther concerning James. His condemnation of the Apocalypse is even more decided. For him it is a *liber obscurus et incertus*, and is to be regarded as neither apostolic nor prophetic. He regards it as of about the same value as the apocalyptic fourth book of Ezra. In later years Luther spoke more mildly on this book.

The same freedom characterizes the reformer's views on particular passages of the Scriptures. There are not wanting passages in Luther in which he admits the presence of errors in the Scriptures, especially between the synoptics and John, particularly in chronological and local topics.

The canon and rule adopted by Luther in judgments on the books of the Bible he himself formulates in connection with his criticism of St. James, when he says: "Whatever preaches Christ is apostolic, even if it were spoken or written by Judas, by Hannas, by Pilate, or by Herod. Whatever does not teach Christ is not apostolic, even if taught by Peter or Paul.

The exceptional merit of this article lies in the fact that it furnishes the data upon which judgment can be passed on the disputed question as to the position of Luther toward the Scriptures, as both advanced and conservative critics claim him as their own. That a good deal can be learned from Luther's *healthy* position also for our day will not escape a careful reader. The author's production deserves careful study. G. H. S.

Book Reviews.

The Doctrine of the Incarnation. By ROBERT L. OTTLEY, M.A., Fellow of S. M. Magdalen College and Principal of the Pusey House, Oxford. New York: The Macmillan Company. London: Methuen & Co. 2 vols., Pp. xii+324; x+366. \$7.

The author states that his book is intended for theological students, but it should be added that the work can serve all who need a compendious and plain introduction to the doctrine of the incarnation. It is really a history of the doctrine of the person of Christ, and, what perhaps was unavoidable, absorbs the main elements of the history of doctrine in general. The volume opens with a general survey of the fact of the incarnation; its nature, different aspects, and relation to various provinces of thought and inquiry. The fact, method, purpose, and evidence of the event are treated at length. Part II is devoted to the scriptural presentation of the doctrine. The writer believes that this division of the subject properly belongs to the history of dogma—a controverted point. In the next part the development of the doctrine in the age of post-apostolic apologetics and polemics is traced. Then follows, what the bulk of the book is occupied with, an able exposition of the long and troubled Arian controversy, including the various phases of the defense of the Nicene Creed, from one council to another, first to the result reached at Chalcedon, and afterward through the mediæval and scholastic period. The next section is the period of the Reformation, which is fairly well done, though meager and inadequately estimated. The closing part is described as “a series of notes on the actual contents of the doctrines, comprising a brief discussion both of theological points and of the technical terms employed by ecclesiastical writers.” This is a careful and useful piece of work for students.

In accordance with this plan the incarnation is first presented as the climax of history, of creation, the restoration of humanity, and the revelation of God. This work is nobly done, though we do not discover that he has here made an original contribution to theological thought. As to his summary of the evidence of the incarnation, he draws this from apostolic belief, the history of the church, the spiritual experience of Christians, and the early New Testament literature. His presentation of the doctrine of the incarnation in Scripture is not so able as other parts of the book, that of the Old Testament being peculiarly vulnerable. It is such a section as might have been written prior to the application of the historical method to the study of the Bible.

Mr. Ottley is at his best in the ecclesiastical history of his theme, so far as the marshaling of the facts are concerned. What the reader will probably find defective is a scientific explanation of these facts.

The author's point of view may be gathered from the following important quotation: "It seems indeed to be reasonable, both on historical and critical grounds, to assume that the New Testament lies behind the dogma of the church, as its presupposition, and a determining factor in its development. The theory that the theology of the church is merely a product of Greek metaphysics would seem to be largely based on the deliberate exclusion of the evidence of the New Testament; and it is accordingly very important to estimate fairly the strictly dogmatic element in Scripture if the subsequent process of ecclesiastical definition is to be correctly understood."

Having read this at the beginning, the student may be somewhat mystified to meet in the body of the work such remarks as these: "At the close of the third century theology had succeeded in becoming completely philosophic. . . . The faith was in danger of becoming unintelligible to ordinary Christians. The figure of the historical Christ was practically buried beneath the profusion of metaphysical predicates. . . . Redemption is enlightenment, and philosophy is the only condition of passing from faith to knowledge." Again: "The main characteristic of Scotus Erigena is his remarkable attempt to fuse Christian beliefs with Neoplatonic thoughts. . . . He regarded Christianity mainly as cosmical philosophy." These are but samples of the statements that Mr. Ottley is constantly making in the historic part of his work, and must make if he be a faithful historian whose work shall be characterized by scientific impartiality and objectivity. What is the explanation of this apparent contradiction? The author's aim is to meet the theory of the Ritschl school of critics as to the influence of Hellenistic speculation on the Nicene theology. In view of his treatment of the subject, however, it seems clear that he ought to have objected not to the recognition by the Ritschlians of the fact that the religion of Jesus was transformed into a "revealed philosophy," but to their attitude toward this fact and interpretation of it. Our main criticism upon the book is that the author did not grapple with this burning question of the hour. The alliance, begun by the apologists and officially consummated by the councils, between the gospel and the Greek spirit had converted Christianity into a system of truths which were placed under the sanction of a supernatural and infallible authority; of these truths, those of a theoretical character are permitted to compel the assent of the intellect, and those of a practical character must force the life under the yoke of a new law. What could faith be in this region of "revealed philosophy"? An abstract holding a dogma to be true, a *notitia in intellectu*, like the assent of a scholar to the teaching of his master. After the theoretical truths of the orthodox gnosis "had been developed into a system inaccessible to the reason, the problem of thought was exhausted in an act of passive obedience to the sacred formulæ, a subjection the more meritorious the

more the mystery was transcendent and unsearchable. Now the Reformation, which replaced in some regions the physical and metaphysical mode of consideration which obtained in the old Catholic theology by a moral and religious view of the gospel, accepted the Catholic Christology without essential change. Many theologians in the difficulty and peril of the present doctrinal crisis hold that emancipation from *that* doctrine of the Trinity and the person of Christ which was the result of the amalgamation of Christianity and "Greek metaphysics" is as desirable as inevitable. Of this matter Mr. Ottley's book, valuable in many ways, furnishes no adequate treatment.

G. B. F.

Life and Letters of Fenton John Anthony Hort, by his son, ARTHUR FENTON HORT. 2 vols. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1896.

The publication of these two volumes gives to the New Testament scholar the first full information in regard to a man whose name has been inseparably joined with the masterpiece of English textual criticism, who was one of the extraordinary triumvirate that included Lightfoot and Westcott, and yet who, apart from his work with Westcott, has left us practically nothing except the posthumous, and often disappointing, *Studies in Judaistic Christianity*. And the man they present is certainly an extraordinary personality—a sort of Coleridge who could be interested in geology, botany, philosophy, history, university revision, natural selection, the editing of Plato, commentaries upon the New Testament, textual criticism, and American politics. Fortunately his views upon most of these subjects will be found sounder than that in regard to the last subject. September 25, 1862, he wrote Rev. John Ellerton, "Surely, if Babylon or Rome were rightly cursed it cannot be wrong to desire that the American Union be shivered to pieces." There is certainly a good Tory under the critic! In the light of this multifarious interest, we are tempted to say that if, unlike Coleridge, he contributed some permanent technical element to scholarship, the fortunate result must be credited to the influence of his co-editor, Westcott, as well as to his other friends who occasionally interfered to prevent his undertaking biographies, histories, grammars, and commentaries, too many for the life of any one man. There is indeed a touch of pathos in some of the letters in which he refers to his distracting ambitions. Thus, writing to A. Macmillan in 1862, he says: "'Some one thing.' Yes, so I say to myself (say) twice a day; but which? Text must always go on till done. Commentary ought to be prepared for years beforehand; and Lightfoot will so soon be ready with something that I don't like to be much behindhand: also one wants some theological work that is not all BLX, a.m., etc." And a month later, in a letter to the same, while admitting the advisability of giving up everything except the *New Testament* and *James*, he pleads to be allowed to issue a new translation of *Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus* on the ground that while the "little

book would take *some* time from other things," it would be "but very little." And when his publisher firmly declines, he promises "I will now work hard at St. James, and try to get his commentary done"—yet suggests that he ought also to "combine with him" Peter and Jude!

Apart from this personality, the volumes gain an especial interest from the insight they give into the history of the one great work of Hort's life. It is by no means uncommon for two men to become collaborators in literary work, but the partnership of Westcott and Hort in textual criticism is unique. Such a relation seems to have been the result of a suggestion made by Daniel Macmillan in 1853, that Westcott and Hort should edit the text of the New Testament, Westcott make a commentary, and Lightfoot prepare a grammar and lexicon. The second and third provisions seem to have been to some extent modified by a later division of New Testament study between the three friends in accordance with which Westcott and Lightfoot produced their well-known commentaries, and Hort the posthumous studies in Judaistic Christianity. But the plan of a better text for the New Testament was fortunately not only to prove permanent, but unlike nearly all the other ambitions of Hort, was also to result in a complete work.

Yet a generation was to pass before these results were to appear. At first the delay was intentional, Hort's scholarly instincts leading him to expect the discovery of some new and important MS.—an intuition that was rewarded in the discovery of Sinaiticus and the first accurate edition of B. But later the delay seems to have been the result of the magnitude of the work itself—coupled with the distractions that lay in the other work carried on by the co-editors. The publisher grew impatient, declaring that the two men were working for the "millennium people," or at any rate that the work would not appear before 1890—a date in point of fact not very far from being correct, the first edition appearing in 1881, and the second in 1885.

The method of co-editorship naturally was not easy to discover. We know the general method from the brief history of the edition contained in Dr. Hort's introduction, but the following details are given in the present volume. At first it would appear as if both editors worked together at the same problem, but this soon became impracticable, not only from the waste of labor it entailed, but from Hort's removal to the parish of St. Ippolyts. Then came about the method afterwards pursued. In 1859 the two agreed to work independently, each submitting his results to the criticism of the other. This independent work was to be supplemented by sessions in which the two together undertook the revision of such criticisms. How slow such revision was may be seen in the statement of Hort to his publisher that for several days Westcott and he had been at work together and had gotten over only twenty and a half chapters of Matthew.

Such collaboration must of necessity have brought to light differences of opinion. How these were overcome appears from Hort's statement: "There were at first many superficial differences which mostly vanished on thorough

discussion. We each surrendered about equal quantities of first impressions and without any compromise or sacrifice, and now are both quite content with our text." Yet absolute agreement could not be expected, and traces of editorial independence are to be seen in the appendix of the published work.

The critical positions of the revision were probably due to Hort rather than Westcott, and he is to be credited with the second volume of their New Testament, in which the principles are elaborately stated, defended and applied. The development of these principles are said by the editor of Hort's life to be traceable in various reviews, notably in that of Tregelles, first part, in July 1857. The same year the plans of the revision were submitted to Tischendorf who gave them his approval. The value of a manuscript's tendencies and affinities as a help towards discovering the internal evidence of documents was well formulated by May 1860, as appears in a letter to Lightfoot. So important did Hort then already begin to see were his principles that he confessed to an unwillingness to submit to the criticism of "amateurs." The immense labor which these principles necessitated appears in an unexpected fashion in a letter to Macmillan. Protesting against the charge of inaction brought against him by Jowett, he declares "those fellows don't know what work means, and they fancy that the weightiest questions of criticism can be dashed off without work." Again, a little later (May 9, 1862), in a letter to Westcott *à propos* of revision: "The work has to be done, and never can be done satisfactorily without vast labor—a fact of which hardly anybody in Europe except ourselves seems conscious."

There is at this day no need of any discussion of the critical principles which governed the work of these years. There is no text of the New Testament more authoritative than that of Westcott and Hort. Indeed, these volumes give us small information beyond that already set forth in the Introduction. One is tempted to regret sometimes that this is the case. Any thoughtful reader of the Introduction is often perplexed by both the brevity and the fulness of its treatment of various subjects. Yet perhaps it is as well that these two volumes of biography should not have been too technical. For, as it is, one reads them less from the desire to know merely Hort's critical principles, and is all the more ready to share in his broad thinking and to be inspired and warned by his prodigious industry.

S. M.

Aussercanonische Paralleltexte zu den Evangelien. Viertes Heft. **Paralleltexte zu Johannes**, gesammelt und untersucht von ALFRED RESCH. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. 8vo. 1896, pp. iv + 224. M. 7.

The chief interest of this comparatively small volume lies in the introduction, and the retrospect which includes also the three preceding parts of the work. The introduction deals first and at great length with the oldest

external evidence for the gospel. The latest authorities named are Clement of Alexandria and Irenæus, who flourished about the close of the second century. The inquiry, therefore, is practically limited to that century and the closing decades of the first. The amount of evidence is nevertheless considerable, comprising not fewer than thirty items. Some of course are not new. Others are far from certain, especially the quotation purporting to be taken from a writing by Euodius, the predecessor of Ignatius in the see of Antioch, which is found in the ecclesiastical history of Nicephorus Callistus. It may be granted that the passage is curious and worth noting, but surely stronger evidence is required than the unsupported testimony of a third-rate author of the fourteenth century. Professor Harnack may indeed go too far in the opposite direction when he denies the possibility of genuineness, but the origin of the fragment is too doubtful for it to be safely used as a link in a chain of reasoning. By far the most striking testimony to the early existence and influence of the gospel is that supplied by the eucharistic prayers in the *Didache*, which are unquestionably older than the work itself in its present form. The reference to "the holy vine of David" (ix), the juxtaposition of two Johannine *hapax legomena* (compare *Didache* ix, 4, and John 11:52), the expression "holy father" (x), and the declaration that God has given spiritual food and drink and life eternal through his Son (x) seem unmistakably to imply intimate acquaintance with the gospel. Now if Dr. Resch is right in dating these prayers as early as 80 or 90 A. D. we are led to the surprising conclusion that the gospel must have been in ecclesiastical and liturgical use in some part of the church at any rate ten or twenty years before the close of the first century, that is, many years before the death of the apostle to whom tradition ascribes it, and then we must infer that it was written some years earlier still. Other very ancient evidence is found in the epistle of Clement of Rome which the late Bishop Lightfoot dismissed as written before the gospel, the newly discovered Apology of Aristides, which seems to contain a clear reminiscence of the clause, "and the word became flesh," *The Rest of the Words of Baruch*, assigned by its editor to the year 136 A. D., the Docetic gospel of Peter, and the two gnostic writings in Coptic contained in the Codex Bruce. One of these last mentioned works, which is assigned by Schmidt to the year 160 A. D., cites the prologue of the gospel as John's. If the date is correct, this is the earliest known mention of the evangelist's name; and is very significant, as it shows that the gospel was accepted as Johannine, even in heretical circles, in little more than half a century after the writer's death. An obscure statement in the so-called Muratorian canon furnishes material for a brilliant conjecture. Instead of "ex decipolis" it is proposed to read "ex decapoli," in which case Pella will be alluded to where we know that the Christians of Jerusalem were assembled in the year 70. This is at least an attractive emendation. The cumulative effect of the whole series of testimonies is very great indeed. The gospel seems to have been known and regarded as apostolic by Chris-

tians of all shades of opinion in all parts of the Roman world in the second century, and a strong case has been made out for its official use in the last twenty years of the first. Dr. Resch himself has not the least doubt of its apostolic authority and Johannine origin, which, he says, ought never to have been questioned. In the last paragraph of his book he refers to these certainties as the corner stone of the whole fabric of gospel research. The fourth gospel is the solid shore from which it is possible to survey the surging waters of synoptic criticism with unruffled composure, or even to venture without fear among their rocks or into their shallows.

The other part of the introduction is devoted to a very able inquiry into the composition of the gospel of John. Its distinctive features as compared with those of the synoptic gospels (or rather, with those of the Semitic gospel which underlies them) are due chiefly, he thinks, to four causes: (1) diversity of character and capacity; (2) difference of time; (3) difference of conception; (4) difference of language. It consists of eighteen larger and smaller fragments put together for the purpose declared in 20:31, but also with the subordinate intention of supplementing the original Matthew or Ur-Evangelium. One of the most striking characteristics is the remarkable combination of historical exactness and ideal freedom. The apostle at the same time represented his fellow disciples, and wrote under the guidance of the prophetic Spirit. He was a Christian historian and a Christian prophet. This tallies exactly with the evidence of early tradition, as preserved by the Muratorian canon, Theophilus, and Clement of Alexandria.

The extra-canonical parallels to this gospel fall far below those to the synoptists both in number and significance. The verbal variants, which are more than two thousand, in the latter scarcely reach a hundred, and their character is wholly different. The gospel of John, therefore, is thought to furnish a negative proof of the existence of a precanonical document underlying the synoptic gospels and their extra-canonical parallels.

Under these circumstances the "texts and researches" of this volume could not but be fewer and less interesting than those of the two preceding volumes. They contain however, notwithstanding, much curious and valuable material. The notes on 1:13; 3:5; 4:24, and the mysterious *Σαμουηλ* of D in 11:54 are exceedingly suggestive.

The value of the Lewis codex has been much overrated in the judgment of Dr. Resch. He holds it to be later than the Curetonian, which with Baethgen he assigns to the middle of the third century. Its significance for textual criticism is but moderate. This unfavorable estimate may account for some omissions. The word "father," for instance, is found in the Lewis codex of John 6:38 as well as in the Curetonian, but the latter only is mentioned. The "narrow-hearted" reading, "it is the spirit that quickeneth the flesh" (6:63), which is said to have been "manufactured" by the Curetonian is common to it and the new authority.

The remarkable variant of the Lewis codex in 14:22—"Thomas" for

"Judas"—which Dr. Resch has not found noticed in any previous discussion of this manuscript, was mentioned by Rev. W. E. Barnes in the *Thinker* of January 1895.

It is incidentally remarked (note on p. 140) that the author has compiled a collection of Old Testament Agrapha which he does not know whether he will ever publish. It is to be hoped that the time and means will be forthcoming, as such a work might shed new light on dark places in early Christian literature.

W. TAYLOR SMITH.

Jesu Muttersprache. Das Galiläische Aramäisch in seiner Bedeutung für die Erklärung der Reden Jesu. Von LIC. ARNOLD MEYER. Freiburg, 1896. Pp. xiv + 176. M. 3.

The positions ably maintained and defended in the work before us are these: that a dialect of Aramaic, closely resembling those found in the Palestinian Lectionary and Talmud, was the common speech of Galilee in the times of Christ. That Jesus, the carpenter's son, since "the common people heard him gladly," spoke in the same language. That the disciples were "sons of the soil," and if they transcribed the sayings of Christ would transcribe them as they were delivered; certainly not in Hebrew, because of their very limited acquaintance with that tongue. There is thus an *a priori* probability, apart altogether from patristic evidence, for the early existence of an Aramaic gospel for the use of the churches who constantly spoke in that language. Delitzsch and Resch defend Hebrew as the language in which the Protevangelium was written, and even Dalman is doubtful, but surely the matter is capable of easy solution. Let the two cognate languages be tested on the divergences of our Greek synoptics, and the decision given to that language which elucidates them. The present writer began his investigations full of faith in Hebrew, but now, unhesitatingly, gives his verdict for Aramaic.

We heartily welcome as a fellow-laborer the author of *Jesu Muttersprache*, who publishes this work as a forerunner to a larger work on the Preaching of Jesus, and who is a consistent advocate of Galilean Aramaic, as the language in which Christ's sayings were first recorded. The work is important, however, more as a summary of what has previously been attempted in this field, than for its original contributions. The author has read extensively, and has collected carefully the views of many scholars since the Reformation, who have surmised that Christ did not speak Greek; and he also here displays and greatly criticises the attempts which several scholars have previously made to retranslate isolated sayings of Christ in Aramaic or Hebrew. Besides this, he gives us an interesting chapter on the prevalence of Aramaic in Palestine, and on the occurrence of Aramaic words in the New Testament and in Josephus; and an appendix describing the Christian Palestinian Lectionary. But when we seek for first-hand work elucidating the sayings

of Christ by retranslating them into Aramaic, we are disappointed. There are only about ten passages which display personal research, apart from the adoption of, or criticism of, other men's labors. This is not the place to criticise the Aramaic. There are a few happy elucidations, but the net results of the original retranslation work fall decidedly below one's anticipations. One would like to suppose that Meyer is holding over the best for his new work.

J. T. MARSHALL.

People's Commentary on the Acts, with Critical, Exegetical and Applicative Notes, and Illustrations from Life and History in the East. By EDWIN W. RICE, D.D. Philadelphia: The American Sunday School Union. 1896. Pp. iv+371.

For the last few years we have had an extraordinary number of books upon Acts written from the critical point of view and it is now time to expect a large number upon the same subject for the benefit of Sunday-school teachers. Such books will not probably claim any great attention from professional teachers, nor should they. They are to be manuals rather than treatises, and, like that of most exegetical annuals, their advent is to be awaited with some apprehension. But if they are all as well made as the present volume, there will be ground for thankfulness.

Dr. Rice has produced a book which does not pretend to be a technical treatise, but which is evidently based upon a knowledge of most recent English treatises. The general position taken in regard to chronological questions is eminently conservative, but it appears from the map appended to the volume that the author has accepted Ramsay's view as to the location of the Galatian churches. The introduction is a good résumé of the reviews of Salmon and Lightfoot, and although it has largely avoided criticism, has space for a defense of the unity of Acts that is probably as extended—if not as well read—as the purpose of the book demands.

The exegetical position of the book is gratifying. There are few works of this class that are as good. There is perhaps too often a yielding to temptation in the shape of homiletic application, but on the whole the interpretation is done soberly and thoughtfully. We do not look for much original work, nor is ingenuity in exegesis much wanted. But Sunday-school teachers who look into the volume for help will seldom be disappointed by a lack of either explanation or information. The author is also to be congratulated on the brevity with which he has made his "suggestive applications." Altogether the book is to be commended for teachers of the international lessons for 1897 who want something more than stories and pious reflections.

It should be added that the book contains a number of illustrations in half-tone from photographs and drawings of localities mentioned in the text.

These perhaps add something of value. One is less sure of the wisdom of printing the parallel texts of Acts at the bottom of the page.

S. M.

An Introduction to the Life of Jesus : An Investigation of the Historical Sources. By ALFRED WILLIAMS ANTHONY, Professor of New Testament Exegesis and Criticism, Cobb Divinity School. Boston : Silver, Burdette & Co. 1896. Pp. 206.

This little work comes opportunely. Probably no time has ever equaled ours in its concern over the evidence that goes to establish the trustworthiness of the sources which contain the facts of the life of Jesus. While we have had many books upon apologetics, those which have dealt exclusively with this form of evidence have not been numerous, or at least sufficiently readable. Professor Anthony's work is, therefore, welcome as an attempt to meet the need.

His aim is not to discuss the times or the circumstances of Jesus' life, but to present the evidence upon which we may accept the historicity of our gospel accounts. He therefore has gathered together and discussed such statements of heathen and Jewish writers as bear upon this point; he has examined the apocryphal gospels, agrapha, patristic writings, and the epistles of Paul and the gospels. By this process he has presented a great number of the most important facts that give weight to a belief in the validity of Christian faith, and has incidentally discussed the synoptic and Johannine problems. If we overlook occasional stylistic peculiarities, the work must be said to have been well done. We cannot agree with the author's conclusions in regard to the synoptic problem, but this is not the most important portion of the book. Professor Anthony has really given us a book upon documentary Christian evidences admirably adapted for use by thoughtful men and women who are not professional students, as well as by students just beginning the study of the life of Jesus. In this particular it will be serviceable if used in connection with the handbook of Professor Gilbert (*The Student's Life of Jesus*) noticed in the October number of the BIBLICAL WORLD.

S. M.

Die Propheten in ihrer ursprünglichen Form. Die Grundgesetze der ursemitischen Poesie erschlossen und nachgewiesen in Bibel, Keilinschriften, und Koran, und in ihren Wirkungen erkannt in den Chören der griechischen Tragödie. Von DR. D. H. MÜLLER. I Band : Prolegomena und Epilegomena, pp. 1-256. II Band : Hebräische Texte, pp. 1-70, Arabische Texte, pp. 1-64. Wien : Alfred Hölder, 1896. M. 16.

The characteristic features of ancient Semitic religious poetry according to Professor Müller were mainly four : (1) strophical structure ; (2) *respon-sion*, or the correspondence of strophes, the so-called *parallelismus membrorum*

on a larger scale; (3) *concatenation*, or the linking of the last line of a strophe to the first line of the following one; (4) *inclusion*, or the rounding off of a strophe as a whole. These characteristics, he maintains, are common to the Koran which though relatively late represents ancient literary methods better than the works of the Arabian poets who were affected by Greek influence, the cuneiform inscriptions, and the Hebrew prophets. The chorus of the Greek tragedy, which seems to have borrowed elements from the East, probably grew out of Semitic choral odes exhibiting these peculiarities. All this is thought to point to poetic forms current among the Semites before they were broken up into the three peoples who produced the three literatures mentioned.

These propositions are supported by a large number of illustrations, most of which are given in the original as well as in German, and which are all printed as it is supposed they were written. The responsions, etc., are indicated by various typographical expedients. The cuneiform passages are taken from the Babylonian creation epic, the creation text recently discovered by Mr. Pinches, and the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser I, Nabu-abal-idin, Assurbanipal, Sargon, and Nebuchadnezzar the Great. The specimens from the Koran are far more numerous, representing as many as seventeen Suras. The examples from the Hebrew prophets are arranged in the first volume in the following order: Amos, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Micah, Hosea, Zephaniah (which is given entire), Nahum, Habakkuk, Zechariah, Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah. In the second volume they are placed as they stand in the printed Hebrew Bible. Fewer portions of Isaiah are cited than might have been expected, the texts covering only eight pages. Deutero-Isaiah, on the contrary, gets sixteen. Illustrations are also given from the prophecies of Balaam and the teaching of our Lord as recorded in the synoptic gospels. The samples of Greek tragedy examined are drawn from twenty plays: four of Æschylus, five of Sophocles, and eleven of Euripides. They are mostly cited in German, but a specimen of each poet is given also in the original.

The impression left on the mind of an unprejudiced reader by this large collection of passages and Dr. Müller's comments is on the whole distinctly favorable to the general outlines of his theory. The main features of the correspondence which he claims to have discovered between Arabian and Assyro-Babylonian documents seem to rest on a foundation of fact. Many of the details, however, are extremely uncertain. The strophical arrangement, for instance, is often by no means proved, and some of the alleged responsions, etc., fanciful. It is also not plain why the Hebrew writings usually considered poetic are left out of the inquiry. Another unfortunate circumstance is the appearance of the book before the publication of the elaborate dissertation of Professor Friedrich Delitzsch on the Babylonian creation epic¹ in which the structure of early Babylonian religious poetry is

¹ "Das babylonische Welterschöpfungsepos von Friedrich Delitzsch." Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1896.

carefully examined on the basis of evidence supplied by the tablets themselves.

It is to be hoped that the strongly adverse critique from the pen of Professor Smend, which appeared in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, will not prejudice students against this learned work, which handles an interesting theme very freshly and instructively. The arrangement of the Hebrew text, however conjectural in many places, unquestionably helps the reader to grasp the meaning; and many of Dr. Müller's remarks are very helpful and suggestive. It is only fair to add that the two volumes are beautifully printed.

W. TAYLOR SMITH.

The Empire of the Ptolemies. By PROFESSOR J. P. MAHAFFY, D.D., LL.D.
New York: The Macmillan Co., 1895. Pp. xxv + 533. Price \$3.50.

The period of which this book treats is one of great interest and of surpassing difficulty. The Egypt of the Ptolemies was a most extraordinary Egypt. The conservatism of the native Egyptian, fortified by thousands of years of a glorious history, came into close contact with the progressive Greek mind, and under the control of Greek kings, inspired with the intellectual and political achievements of the people that had produced an Aristotle and an Alexander. The result is most instructive. The Ptolemies show the Greek political sagacity in their dealings with the Egyptians, and their interest in the intellectual development of Egypt develops a literary and scholastic atmosphere which makes Alexandria the center of the literary life of the time. The old Egyptian religion is given full swing; the priests retain their prerogatives; the Ptolemies build on the temples like old Pharaohs and receive from the religion entrance into the Egyptian heaven and deification among the Egyptian gods.

A special interest attaches to this period because of the fact that a large Jewish population is found in Egypt and receives especial favor from these kings. The Jews have their part in the intellectual fermentation of the age. It is here under the genial patronage of the Ptolemies that a great Jewish literature is produced, the chiefest monument of which is the Septuagint.

The period, however, is one of extreme difficulty because of the lack of satisfactory historical memorials, the intricacy of the political relations, and the absence of any commanding historical writer of the time to describe and to interpret for us the changing scene. Professor Mahaffy has made this period of ancient history the subject of several important historical works such as his *Greek Life and Thought from Alexander to the Roman Conquest*, *The Greek World Under Roman Sway*, and the volume on *Alexander's Empire* in "The Story of the Nations" series. This book, however, is the latest and best contribution which he has made to the subject. Mahaffy has a peculiar method of writing history. He is discursive, garrulous, and at the same time does not hesitate to insert in the body of his

text original documents,snatches of philological and palæographic lore. The combination makes somewhat difficult reading, especially when the subject is intrinsically complex. Nevertheless, we think he has produced an admirable volume. It reveals wide knowledge. It contains the text of many important documents, two at least of peculiar interest, viz., the Rosetta Stone and the Decree of Canopus. He has employed the results of the latest researches and discoveries, including the revenue papyri recently discovered. The book is attractive and instructive in a high degree.

G. S. G.

Primitive Buddhism: Its Origin and Teachings. By ELIZABETH A. REED, A.M., Member of the Philosophical Society of Great Britain, etc. Chicago: Scott, Foresman & Co. 1896. Pp. 218.

The writer of this volume had a worthy motive in its preparation, viz., to make it possible for many to learn quickly and easily what Buddhism is, and to be able to distinguish the true Buddhism of Gautama and his early followers from much that is today claimed as Buddhism, but which is falsely so-called. She is not a specialist on the subject, and we cannot but regard this as an essential defect. When there are so many admirable books on the subject—we need mention merely the incomparable manual of Rhys Davids,—it is a question whether a contribution by a non-specialist has any real reason for existence. The book is full of quotations, selected in most cases from first-rate writers. Those from St. Hilaire should have been omitted. The treatment of the subject is in general just and careful; the extracts from the Buddhist books well made. It is a pity that the writer should have ascribed the practice of widow burning to Buddhism in two strongly expressed passages, when it is quite reasonably certain that this practice sprang up after Buddhism had lost its grip in India. The author's discussion of the problem of the Tantric Buddhistic literature evinces a similar misapprehension, since this entire literature belongs to the latest and least Buddhistic Indian Buddhism. There is a strange omission, also, in the list of causes for the spread of Buddhism in India. Absolutely nothing is said about the personal character and influence of Buddha. It may perhaps be worth while also to point out a curious slip of the author in her statement that "India was one of the provinces of Darius at the time when the prophet Daniel held a high position at the king's court" (p. 194). The references to the book of Esther also show that the writer has not grasped the import of the discussions on this book.

In the flood of literature that is being produced on the subject of Buddhism, this book has an admirable quality which will raise it above many others, viz., that it distinguishes sharply and clearly between primitive, original, Buddhism, and the later outgrowths. In this respect the author shows a true historical sense, and deserves high commendation.

G. S. G.

The Empire of the Tsars and the Russians. By ANATOLE LEROY-BEAULIEU. Translated from the third French edition by Z. A. Ragozin. Part III. The Religion. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1896. Pp. xi+601. Price \$3.00.

This is the third volume of an admirable, exhaustive, work on Russia by the eminent statesman and member of the Institute of France, Leroy-Beaulieu. It is occupied entirely with the religion of Russia and contains material of surpassing interest to the student of religion, and especially of Christianity. No important topic connected with the religious element in Russian life has been omitted, and all is treated with a fulness of information and a candor and appreciation which will make the book long an authority upon the subject. The writer begins with a discussion of religion and religious feeling in Russia and treats of the strange mystical and fatalistic trend among the masses of the Russian people, and finds its causes in the state of culture, in government, in the soil, climate, environment. He gives the racial element its due weight in this connection and warns against overrating this mystical element. A most interesting chapter is given to the survivals of pagan polytheistic religions in the Christianity of Russia, whereby the Russians can be almost called a bi-religious people. Then he notes that there is another dualism in Russian Christianity itself, in that, while the people belong to the religious life of the Middle Ages, the literary classes have stopped mostly at the eighteenth century. After this general discussion the Russian orthodox church is taken up and treated with great fulness. Following this is a treatment of the "Raskol," or "Schism," and "the sects." The "Raskol" is the protest of the conservatives against the innovations in religion and civilization introduced by Peter the Great. The volume closes with a discussion of "religious liberty and the dissident creeds," where it is seen that a vast series of worships both Christian and non-Christian are found in the great area of the Russian Empire. The writer concludes with a chapter on the need of religious liberty in Russia but questions whether religious liberty will precede political liberty. Every student of religion and of Christian history will find matter of intense interest in this masterly book.

G. S. G.

The Bible and the Monuments. I. The Primitive Hebrew Records in the Light of Modern Archæological Research. By W. ST. CHAD BOSCAWEN. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode. 1895. Pp. 177.

This seems to be the first of a series of volumes planned by Mr. Boscawen in a field which is now so popular and interesting, viz., the relation between the material of the Old Testament and the results of archæological research. This volume deals entirely with the primitive Hebrew traditions and especially in their relation to the Babylonian legends. The writer begins with a discussion of the Hebrew and Assyrian languages and their relations, show-

ing by a list of words from everyday life, of animals, etc., how close the two languages are to one another. He illustrates this relationship by the comparison of certain prayers and psalms of ancient Babylonia and Assyria with those of the Old Testament. He next takes up the creation legends and gives at length in parallel columns the comparison of the Hebrew and the Assyrian creation stories. In the case of each "tablet," equivalent to the Hebrew "day," the author brings in illustrative material from other Assyrian literature. The third chapter deals with the stories of the serpent and the fall as illustrated by Babylonian material. This is the weakest of the author's contributions. He has paraded the old and long-exploded picture on an ancient Babylonian seal as a representation of the fall. This oft-corrected error should have been avoided. The beginnings of civilization are then discussed. Materials here are not so fresh because the discoveries at Niffer during the last year have pushed back the beginnings a thousand years or more. A full discussion is given to the deluge story, and the material is again presented in parallel columns, a distinction being made between the two Hebrew accounts which are united in Genesis. The book closes with a discussion of the grave and the future life, containing some useful material for comparison with the Old Testament, showing that the Babylonians had a conception of heaven fully as bright and hopeful as the Old Testament. The volume is illustrated by some admirable cuts which we do not recall as having been before published. The claim is made in the case of many of them that they are photographs from the original. On the whole we cannot but commend this book, not as being superior to anything which has hitherto appeared on this subject, but as worthy of taking a place beside the other literature, such as as Lenormant's and Sayce's discussions of this primitive material.

G. S. G.

LITERARY NOTES.

THE Old Testament has always furnished themes of practical interest for pulpit treatment, but the modern methods of biblical study are making it more than ever a book of fresh and living interest. *The Gospel in Isaiah* (Revell) by Charles S. Robinson, D.D., is a series of practical lessons based upon an exposition of the sixth chapter of Isaiah, in which are discovered the essential elements of the gospel, such as the mission of fear, true conviction of sin, the love of God, the atonement, volunteering for service, the discipline of failure, and the effect of a rejected message.

John, a Tale of King Messiah (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., \$1.25) is another attempt to popularize the life and times of the Christ. Miss Katharine Pearson Woods reveals here a pleasing ability to describe with vividness and progression, with thought and strength, the scenes and personages of that day. She has apparently spent a large amount of time in familiarizing herself with the social and religious customs of the days of the Master. Only an

occasional anachronism, or slip in statement, drops in to irritate the specialist, for whom, however, the book is not written. Popular readers will find the story both interesting and instructive.

Selected Essays of James Darmesteter (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., \$1.50). Professor Jastrow has written an introduction to these essays which have been translated from the French by Helen B. Jastrow. Darmesteter was an extraordinary scholar, and these chips from his workshop are of real value, all of them worthy of translation and republication. His memorial of Renan is sympathetic and beautiful. His outline of the history of the Jews, while condensed, is masterly. His essay on the prophets of Israel is most enlightening. He was, however, a Jew and a radical, and his writings reflect these points of view. Read these essays but remember the personal equation.

Bible Illustrations (New York: Henry Frowde, \$1) is a series of plates, 124 in number, illustrating biblical versions and antiquities. It is really an enlargement of the admirable "helps to the study of the Bible" found in the Oxford Teacher's Bible. One of the most serviceable sections of this useful book is that in which the several plates of manuscripts, antiquities, and monuments are described for the reader. This feature gives life and reality to these plates, most of which are not worn out, but clear cut and new. To the Bible student interested in the ever-increasing light from the unearthed cities and mountain-fastness monasteries of the East, this will be a fascinating little volume.

The Law of Sinai (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., \$1.25) is a book of 194 pages, composed of devotional addresses on "The Ten Commandments," delivered by the author, Principal B. W. Randolph, M.A., to students who were preparing for ordination at the Theological College, Ely. The treatments make no claim to be scientific or exegetical. They are analytical and practical to the highest pitch. They are fresh and crisp, and often flash with sparks of wit and wisdom. They reveal some careful study, particularly of the New Testament. They can be profitably read even by those of more mature years than the students to whom they were spoken. Such books reach the marrow of the spiritual life, while many a more scientific discussion does not pierce even the cuticle.

IN *Sabbath and Sunday*, Wm. DeLoss Love (Revell) has published with additions a series of papers which appeared some years since, of which the thesis is the identity of the Jewish Sabbath with the Christian Lord's Day in purpose and divine sanction. The argument is that the Sabbath was a universal enactment from creation, incorporated in the Hebrew code, not abolished or modified by Christ, undisturbed by the apostles, preserved in spite of the change from seventh to first day, which came to be the Christian Sabbath, confirmed by the teaching of the early Fathers, and demanded by

society as a means of physical and mental rest as well as a moral and spiritual culture, necessary to society and the state. The book is an admirable statement of the Sabbatarian view. Those, however, who perceive the essential difference between the Sabbath and the Lord's Day, the totally different motive that gave rise to the latter and the futility of Sabbath legislation based on the Fourth Commandment, will be compelled to look elsewhere for a satisfactory treatment of the theme.

The Prophets of the Christian Faith (New York: Macmillan Co., \$1.25) is a galaxy of ten portraits of the giant prophets of the ages. They are portrayed by as many master minds of this day. As the introduction, Dr. Lyman Abbott answers the question, "What is a pulpit?" and as the conclusion, Dean Farrar likewise tells us what he thinks will answer the question, "Can we be prophets?" Now the great men of God delineated for us are "Isaiah" by Professor Francis Brown, "Paul" by Dr. George Matheson, "Clement of Alexandria" by Dr. Marcus Dods, "St. Augustine" by Professor McGiffert, "John Wycliffe" by Dean Freemantle, "Luther" by Professor Harnack, "John Wesley" by Dean Farrar, "Jonathan Edwards" by Principal Fairbairn, "Horace Bushnell" by Dr. Munger, and "F. D. Maurice" by Dr. A. V. G. Allen. Within less than 200 pages these ten characters are as a rule admirably traced. The outstanding and towering elements of character and strength are pointed out in clear, concise language, in a pleasing popular style. The word "prophet" is made to bear the strain of considerable expansion.

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Dolly French's Household. By Jennie M. Drinkwater. (Chicago and Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 12mo, 308 pp.) Price, \$1.25.

For the Other Boy's Sake, and other Stories. By Marshall Saunders. (Chicago and Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 12mo, 374 pp.) Price, \$1.00.

Thoughts of the Holy Gospels; How they came to be in manner and form as they are. By Francis W. Upham, LL.D. (New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe, 1881, 367 pp.)

The Modern Reader's Bible. Edited with an introduction and notes by Richard G. Moulton, M. A., Ph. D. *Genesis. The Exodus. The Kings.* 3 volumes, each \$0.50. (New York, The Macmillan Company. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1896.)

Lovers Three Thousand Years Ago. (Religion of Science Library), by Rev. T. A. Goodwin. (Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. London: 17 Johnson's Court, Fleet St., E. C. 1896, 41 pp.) \$0.15.

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